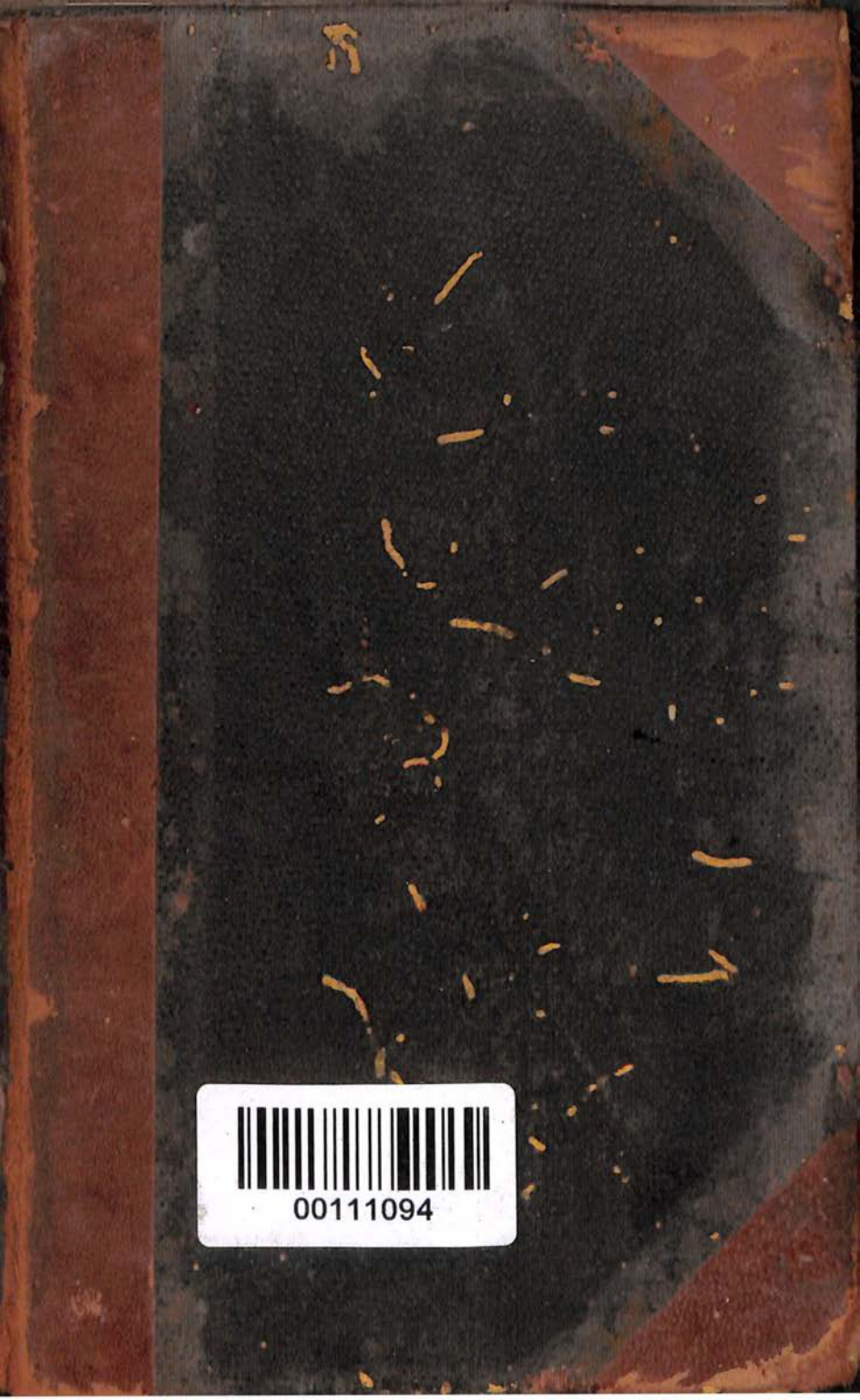
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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

NEW TESTAMENT.

BY

JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS,

LATE PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN, &c.

TRANSLATED FROM

THE FOURTH EDITION OF THE GERMAN,

AND

CONSIDERABLY AUGMENTED WITH NOTES,

AND AN

DISSERTATION

ON THE

ORIGIN and COMPOSITION

OF THE

THREE FIRST GOSPELS.

BY

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

TO

VOL. III. AND VOL. IV.

AS the volumes, now preſented to the public, containing a tranſlation of the latter half of Michaelis's Introduction to the New Teſtament, have ſucceeded the publication of the former half, after an interval of not leſs than eight years, and even at preſent my commentary on the author's text extends no further than the three firſt Goſpels, it may be juſtly expected, that I ſhould offer ſome explanation upon this ſubject. The tranſlation itſelf was finiſhed before the cloſe of 1795, when I began to draw up a commentary on our author's text, as I had done in the preceding volumes. But as I proceeded with the Notes on the three firſt Goſpels, I perceived the neceſſity of entering into a minute inveſtigation of their origin and compoſition, which gave riſe to the Diſſertation printed in Vol. III. P. ii.: and this Diſſertation was not finiſhed before the beginning of 1798. It was at that time that my attention began to be directed to a totally different ſubject: the calumnies, which were then inceſſantly uttered againſt Great Britain, both at home and abroad, provoked me to attempt a confutation of them: and the volumes, which I accordingly publiſhed, again employed an interval of nearly two years. Toward the end of 1799, I returned to the ſtudy of theology: I began to collect materials for obſervations on the other books of the New Teſtament: and I intended to have

have treated them in the ſame manner, as I had done the three firſt Goſpels, when a new interruption took place in March 1800. From the Univerſity of Leipzig, where I then reſided, I returned to England, in conſequence of an invitation, which I could not refuſe: and as the completion of my original plan, with regard to Michaelis's Introduction, was thus deferred to an unlimited time, I determined to print the remainder of the tranſlation without further delay. In ſo doing, I hope I ſhall not incur the cenſure of the public: as it is certainly more deſireable to have the work of Michaelis complete, though the whole is not accompanied with Notes, than to wait ſeveral years longer for the completion of the work, merely for the ſake of ſome additional obſervations by the tranſlator.

After this explanation, it remains only, that I expreſs my obligations to the Univerſity, for its liberal aſſiſtance, in defraying the expences of the preſent, as well as of the preceding volumes.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
JUNE 22, 1801.

HERBERT MARSH.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SACRED WRITINGS

OF THE

NEW COVENANT.

CHAP. I.

OF THE NAME, AND NUMBER OF THE CANONICAL GOSPELS.

THE firſt book of the New Teſtament, according to the arrangement in the manuſcripts[1], contains the four Goſpels, or the four Hiſtories of Chriſt's life.

The Greek name Ευαγγελιον has three different ſenſes, as uſed by profane writers, by the ſacred writers, and by eccleſiaſtical writers; and theſe three ſenſes muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed from each other. The want of this diſtinction has ſometimes given riſe to miſtakes, and induced, for inſtance, many perſons to ſuppoſe that St. Paul dictated the Goſpel of St. Luke, becauſe in his epiſtle to the Romans[a] he uſes the expreſſion 'according to my Goſpel[2].' The word ευαγγελιον is uſed by the Greek profane writers to ſignify good news in general: but in the New Teſtament it ſignifies the joyful intelligence of the advent of the Meſſiah in particular, and is uſed by St. Paul[b] in reference to the prophecies of

[a] Rom. xi. 16. [b] Rom. i. 1, 2.

of that event. Alſo St. Mark writes, Chap. i. 1—4. 'The beginning of the Goſpel——was John'[3]: and Chriſt himſelf, in his anſwer to John, who had ſent to inquire who he was, thought it ſufficient, after relating the miracles, which he had performed, to add 'and the poor have the Goſpel preached to them,' that is, it is announced to the poor that the Meſſiah is come[c]. Eccleſiaſtical writers have taken the word ευαγγελιον in a new ſenſe, and have uſed it to ſignify 'a narrative of the life of Chriſt.' It is uſed in this ſenſe in both the old and new ſuperſcriptions, which have been prefixed to the four Goſpels[4]; and hence the authors of them have acquired the Title of Evangeliſts[5].

I will not undertake to aſſign the reaſon, why we have preciſely four Goſpels, or to diſcover to what cauſe it is owing that their number is neither greater nor leſs, though it was attempted by ſome of the ancient fathers, who fancied that they had diſcovered a myſterious analogy between the four Goſpels, and the four winds[5]. But I am ſo far from ſeeking a myſtery in the number four, that I have my doubts whether two of them, namely thoſe of St. Mark and St. Luke were divinely inſpired[d]: and even if it were true that my doubts were ungrounded, yet on the other hand their number was formerly much greater than four, though four only have deſcended to the preſent age[6]. That the number of our preſent Goſpels therefore amounts preciſely to four, we can aſcribe to nc other cauſe than mere accident. It is true that every event, which we call accidental, is ſtill owing to the particular direction of the Supreme Being; yet we muſt make a diſtinction between events, which happen from the common courſe of things, and ſuch as are derived from his immediate interpoſition.

The real ſtate of the caſe appears to be as follows. At the time, when St. Luke undertook to write his hiſtory of the tranſactions of Chriſt, various but uncertain Goſpels were already in circulation[e]. Theſe Goſpels, probably

[c] Matth. xi. 5.
[e] Luke i. 1—4.
[d] See Vol. I. Ch. III. Sect. 3.

probably owing to the circumſtance, that the accounts, which they contained, were uncertain, have either totally periſhed, or are preſerved only in a few ſcattered and even interpolated fragments[7]. It is certain that they never were received by the Chriſtian church as credible and authentic documents, that they were never deemed worthy to be read in the public ſervice, nor admitted into the catalogue of the writings of the New Teſtament. Whether internal or external evidence contributed chiefly to their rejection, whether their accounts, which have the appearance of fable, rather than of hiſtory, and not ſeldom contradict each other, rendered them ſuſpected, or whether an oppoſition on the part of the Apoſtles and other eye-witneſſes prevented them from being generally received, is at preſent difficult to be determined, becauſe we have no Chriſtian hiſtorians of the firſt century. A tradition relative to this ſubject is recorded by Euſebius in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory[f], which he gives however as a mere report, without quoting any written evidence for its authority. Namely, " the three firſt Goſpels being now delivered to all men, and to John himſelf, *it is ſaid*, that he approved them, and confirmed the truth of their narration by his own teſtimony[g], ſaying, there was only wanting a written account of the things done by Chriſt in the former part, and in the beginning of his preaching." If this report be grounded, we can eaſily account for the admiſſion of the Goſpels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, with the addition of that written by St. John, and of thoſe only: the teſtimony of the laſt ſurviving Apoſtle, who had himſelf been eye-witneſs to the ſeveral tranſactions, was ſufficient authority. Whether this teſtimony implies that the three firſt Goſpels are totally free from the ſmalleſt hiſtorical inaccuracy,

is

[f] Book III. ch. 24.

[g] Των προαναγραφεντων τριων εις παντας ηδη και εις αυτον τον Ιωαννην διαδιδομενων, αποδεξασθαι μεν φασιν, αληθειαν αυτοις επιμαρτυρησαντα.

is a queſtion which belongs not to the preſent ſubject, and which will be examined in the ſequel.

It is a conſiderable advantage, that an hiſtory of ſuch importance as that of Jeſus Chriſt, has been recorded by the pens of ſeparate and independent writers, who from the very contradictions, whether real or apparent, which are viſible in theſe accounts, have inconteſtably proved that they did not unite, with a view of impoſing a fabulous narrative on mankind. That St. Matthew had never ſeen the Goſpel of St. Luke, nor St. Luke the Goſpel of St. Matthew is evident from a compariſon of their writings. The Goſpel of St Mark, which was written later, muſt likewiſe have been unknown to St. Luke; and that St. Mark had ever read the Goſpel of St. Luke is at leaſt improbable, becauſe their Goſpels ſo frequently differ. That St. Mark made uſe of St. Matthew's Goſpel in the compoſition of his own, has been a generally received opinion, to which I formerly ſubſcribed: but I am at preſent of a different opinion, for which I ſhall allege the reaſons in their proper place. We have therefore three diſtinct writers of the ſame hiſtory, who wrote independently of each other. It is true that the fourth Evangeliſt had read the works of the other three, but he is very far from having copied or even from having followed them in their deſcriptions. His Goſpel has very little matter in common with the three firſt; but even where the ſame narrations are recorded, it ſeems to have been ſo little his intention to be directed merely by their contents, that we might rather ſuppoſe him to have ſometimes corrected, in an indirect and delicate manner, the trifling inaccuracies of thoſe who had written before him.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

ON THE HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

SECT. I.

Apparent contradictions of the Goſpels.

I OBSERVED in the preceding chapter, that the accounts delivered by the ſeveral Evangeliſts do not at all times perfectly coincide: but this very circumſtance, which I mentioned as an argument in their favour, has formed the ſubject of a very heavy and ſerious accuſation. No one has urged the charge with ſo much bitterneſs, and ſo much force, as the anonymous author of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments, publiſhed by Leſſing[1], in which the reſurrection of Chriſt is repreſented as a falſe and idle tale, becauſe the hiſtorians, who have recorded it, diſagree in their accounts. In oppoſition to this treatiſe, I publiſhed at Halle in 1783, an Expoſition of the hiſtory of the death and reſurrection of Chriſt[2], from which I ſhall frequently borrow materials in this and the following ſections, and ſometimes tranſcribe whole paſſages, where I think the ſubject would loſe, if I made uſe of different words.

However dangerous theſe contradictions may appear to many friends of the Chriſtian cauſe, and however forcibly they have been applied by its enemies, the diſadvantage, which ariſes from them, is by no means ſo great, as is ſuppoſed, ſince they prove, what is of the utmoſt importance, that the Evangeliſts did not write in concert. If the three firſt Evangeliſts had entered into a combination, with a view of impoſing a fiction on the world, they would certainly have avoided even the ſmalleſt appearance of diſagreement, and if the miraculous events, which they had recorded, had been empty fables, it is probable, that St. John who had read their Goſpels, before he wrote his own, would have

taken care to admit not the leaſt deviation from the writings of his predeceſſors, in order that the fraud might be the leſs eaſily detected. The anonymous author of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments, whoſe object in general does not appear to have been a candid inveſtigation of the truth, is guilty therefore of an egregious miſtake, in ſuggeſting, after an enumeration of ten contradictions in one chapter, that the whole hiſtory of the reſurrection excites a ſuſpicion, that the perſons, who wrote the account of it, acted in concert.

Hiſtorical contradictions may be divided into two claſſes, real, and apparent: theſe muſt carefully be diſtinguiſhed from each other, and each conſidered ſeparately.

When ſeveral perſons, who have been eye-witneſſes to one and the ſame tranſaction, give ſeparate and independent accounts of it, it is hardly poſſible that they ſhould coincide in every trifling particular. I appeal to any experienced lawyer, whether he would not ſuſpect the truth of a document containing an examination, on which twenty witneſſes gave the ſame anſwers to the ſame interrogatories. And if they agreed likewiſe in their expreſſions, there would be ground to ſuſpect that the examiner had drawn up the depoſitions himſelf, and either had not interrogated the witneſſes at all, or had ſuggeſted to them the anſwers, in order to carry his point.

The reaſon, why apparent contradictions are unavoidable in the depoſition of ſeveral eye-witneſſes to the ſame tranſaction is eaſy to be aſſigned. They do not all obſerve every minute circumſtance of the tranſaction, but one pays particular attention to one circumſtance, another to another circumſtance; this occaſions a variation in their accounts, which it is ſometimes difficult to reconcile. This happened likewiſe to the Evangeliſts, as I will illuſtrate by the following inſtance. St. Matthew, ch. xviii. 1—14, and St. Mark ch. ix. 33—50, relate the ſame tranſaction, but in different points of view, and for that reaſon appear at firſt ſight to contradict

each other. St. Matthew ſays, At that time came the diſciples to Jeſus and ſaid, Who is the greateſt in the kingdom of heaven?' St. Mark, on the contrary, 'He came to Capernaum, and having entered into an houſe, he aſked them, What was it, that ye diſputed among yourſelves by the way? But they held their peace; for by the way they had diſputed among themſelves, who ſhould be the greateſt.' According to St. Matthew, the diſciples themſelves lay the ſubject of their diſpute before Jeſus, for his deciſion: but according to St. Mark, they even refuſe to relate the ſubject of their diſpute, though Jeſus requeſted it, becauſe they were conſcious to themſelves, that it would occaſion a reproof. The queſtion is, how theſe accounts are to be reconciled.

Without entering into the various ſolutions, which have been given by the commentators, I ſhall only obſerve that, as this tranſaction relates to a matter of diſpute among the diſciples, it has of courſe two different ſides, and therefore capable of two different repreſentations. Some of the diſciples laid claim to the title of the greateſt in the kingdom of heaven, among whom we may probably reckon Peter, with the two ſons of Zebedee, James and John. Theſe could hardly expect to eſcape a reproof, and were undoubtedly aſhamed, when queſtioned as to the ſubject of their diſpute. Other diſciples on the contrary may be conſidered as the party attacked, who without claiming the firſt rank for themſelves, might yet think it unjuſt to be treated as inferiors, ſince they all appeared to be equal. The latter had leſs reaſon to fear a reproof, ſince the pure morality of Chriſt, which teaches that every action muſt be eſtimated by the motives which gave it birth, was not then fully underſtood by his diſciples. In their outward behaviour at leaſt there was nothing unreaſonable, and without being guilty of a breach of propriety, they might lay their complaints before their maſter, and requeſt his deciſion. It is probable that St. Matthew was of this party, ſince a man, who was by profeſſion a tax-gatherer, and never particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf

among the Apoſtles, would have hardly ſuppoſed, that he ſhould become the firſt in the kingdom of God. He relates the tranſaction therefore, as one of that party to which he belonged: St. Mark on the contrary, who derived information from St. Peter, conſiders the matter from an oppoſite point of view. Let us ſuppoſe the full ſtate of the caſe to be as follows.—Some of the diſciples, who were of the diffident party, and laid no claim to the firſt rank, bring the matter before Chriſt, with the ſame kind of indignation, as was diſplayed by ten of the Apoſtles on another occaſion[h]. Chriſt reſerves the deciſion of the diſpute till they were entered into the houſe, where they were accuſtomed to meet. he then calls his diſciples together, and enquires into the ſubject of their diſpute, to which Peter, James, John, and thoſe in general who had laid claim to pre-eminence make no anſwer.—If the tranſaction was literally as here deſcribed, it is by no means impoſſible that Matthew and Mark might conſider it from different points of view, and write what we find in their Goſpels, without the leaſt violation of truth. The one relates one part, and the other another part of the tranſaction, but neither of them relates the whole. If we read a few verſes further in St. Mark's Goſpel, we find a circumſtance recorded of St. John, which St. Matthew paſſes over in ſilence, and from which it appears, that St. John was more concerned in this diſpute, than moſt of the other diſciples. He even ventured, when Chriſt, with a view of introducing a perfect equality among his diſciples, ſaid, 'Whoever receiveth one of theſe children in my name receiveth me,' to doubt of the univerſality of this poſition, alleging that perſons of unexceptionable characters might appeal to the name of Jeſus, and giving an inſtance of one who had caſt out devils in his name, whom the Apoſtles had rebuked[i]. This again occaſioned replies from Chriſt, which, though they are mentioned by St. Matthew, have in his Goſpel a different appearance, and are attended with leſs perſpicuity, than they

[h] Matth. xx. 24. [i] Mark ix. 37, 38.

they are in St. Mark's Goſpel, becauſe St. Matthew has not related the cauſes which gave them birth.

When the ſame event is either related in common converſations by different ſpeakers, or committed to writing by different and independent hiſtorians, of which we may mention an engagement between two armies as an inſtance, we frequently find a contradiction in their accounts, though each of them has no other object in view, than to relate the truth[3]. If the Evangeliſts appear to contradict each other more frequently than other hiſtorians, the cauſe does not lie in the Evangeliſts themſelves, but in the diligence and attention of the reader. The Goſpels are not read by thouſands, but by millions, who carefully compare the one with the other: whereas the ſtories related in common converſation are hardly ever compared with each other, and it is not often that we find a critical hiſtorian, who takes the trouble of accurately collating his written documents. But the moſt convincing proof, that apparent contradictions are no proof of a bad cauſe, is the circumſtance, that we often meet with them in the writings of one and the ſame hiſtorian, where he relates the ſame thing at different times. St. Luke, for inſtance, relates twice the aſcenſion of Chriſt, and three times the converſion of St. Paul, and in conſequence of his omitting at one time what he had mentioned at another, and vice verſa, he differs as much from himſelf, as the Evangeliſts differ from each other. In courts of juſtice, where practical logic, as far as concerns the examination of evidence, is extremely well underſtood, not every apparent contradiction between two or more witneſſes is immediately conſidered as a proof, that the fact which they atteſt is falſe. The advocates on both ſides examine and croſs-examine, and conſider whether the differences in the reports are not capable of a reconciliation. As the Evangeliſts themſelves cannot be queſtioned with reſpect to their apparent contradictions, it is the duty of commentators to undertake in their name the office of advocate: it is an office which they have frequently executed with

with ſucceſs, but through want of ſufficient knowledge of the ſubject they are ſtill embarraſſed with difficulties, which the Apoſtles themſelves, if they were now alive, would undoubtedly be able to remove.

SECT. II.

Anſwers to the objections made to the Evangeliſts, on account of the apparent contradictions in reſpect to the order of time.

ONE of the moſt frequent apparent contradictions among the Evangeliſts relates to the order of time, the ſame fact being reported earlier by one, than by another. This appearance of diſagreement ariſes from the circumſtance, that neither St. Matthew, St. Mark, nor St. Luke wrote in chronological order[1].

No hiſtorian can be expected to relate every thing in the order of time unleſs he is writing a journal, which is the moſt tedious and diſagreeable kind of hiſtory. In writing a perſpicuous, and at the ſame time an agreeable narrative, it is frequently neceſſary to unite with a cauſe the effect to which it gave birth, even though that effect ſhould belong to a diſtant period, when the hiſtorian muſt conſequently return from a later time to a former: or an hiſtorian is often under the neceſſity of uniting facts, which are far aſunder in point of time, becauſe they are connected by their ſubject. In biography eſpecially, it is not unuſual to diſregard the order of time, in relating the remarkable circumſtances of a life, to which the name of Singularia is applied. It ſeems therefore extraordinary that ſeverer rules ſhould be preſcribed to the Evangeliſts, than are followed by hiſtorians in general: and one might ſuppoſe that it aroſe from a want of ſufficient acquaintance with the practice of profane writers, unleſs various commentators, to whom this ignorance cannot poſſibly be imputed, had

had ſtill conſidered the Goſpels as ſimple diaries, or journals [a].

The Goſpel of St. Luke in particular is ſuppoſed to have been written according to the order of time; becauſe the Evangeliſt declares in his preface, that he intends to relate every thing in order [k]. But we muſt not forget that the order of time is not the only order, which an hiſtorian may follow. To illuſtrate this by an example. The unction of Chriſt at Bethany took place ſix days before the paſſover [l]: yet St. Matthew relates it after he was advanced with the reſt of his hiſtory to within two days of the paſſover [m]. The reaſon is, that on this ſecond day before the paſſover Judas offered to the aſſembly of the ſcribes and chief prieſts to betray Jeſus: which reſolution he had been induced to form by the rebuke which he had received when Jeſus was anointed. To return however to the Goſpel of St. Luke, it appears that the word καθεξης implies nothing more, than an intention to collect accounts of the ſeveral wonders and diſcourſes of Chriſt, and to form them into one uniform whole [4], that is, ανταξασθαι διηγησιν, as he ſays of the writers, of whom he ſpeaks in the firſt verſe of his Goſpel. Now we cannot ſuppoſe that theſe numerous writers compoſed entirely according to the order of time [5]. Nay, there are ſome commentators, which go ſo far as to aſſert that of the four Evangeliſts St. Luke deviates the moſt from the order of time: whether they are miſtaken or not I ſhall not at preſent inquire, becauſe the examination of the proofs would take up too much room, but this I will venture to aſſert, that the word καθεξης no more affords an argument againſt this opinion, than the word ανταξασθαι applied to thoſe who wrote Goſpels before St. Luke, would diſprove the aſſertion, that theſe writers deviated more from the order of time than our four Evangeliſts. The account which we read in St. Luke's Goſpel, ch. iv. 23. where Jeſus ſpeaks of miracles performed at Capernaum, though St. Luke had hitherto

[k] Καθεξης 3. Luke i. 3.
[l] John xii. 1.
[m] Matth. xxvi. 6.

hitherto made no mention, that Jeſus had even been at Capernaum, united with the circumſtance that the important miracles performed by Jeſus at Capernaum appear to be recorded by St. Luke in the fifth chapter, favours at leaſt the opinion that St. Luke has not related the coming of Jeſus to Nazareth, according to the period in which it really happened [6].

The opinion that the Evangeliſts have conſtantly written according to the order of time has led the harmoniſts to this very extraordinary concluſion, that, if a fact is recorded by two or more Evangeliſts, and the period allotted to it by the one correſponds not to the period allotted to it by the other, the fact with all its concomitant circumſtances muſt have happened ſo many different times [7]. According to this principle, the whole ſeries of events recorded in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of St. Matthew's Goſpel happened twice, if not thrice: that is, Jeſus twice healed a man ſick of the palſy, who was let down through the roof of the houſe with exactly the ſame circumſtances; in both caſes he ſpake the ſame words, and the ſpectators were affected in the ſame manner: in two inſtances (immediately after ſuch a miracle) he called a diſciple from the receipt of cuſtom: he twice raiſed a child aged twelve years from the dead, and by the way healed a woman, who had an iſſue of blood, by the touch of his garment: he was twice aſked the ſame queſtions by John, &c. The late Dr. Hauber [8] has applied, in ſupport of this opinion, the principium indiſcernibilium; ſaying, that things which agree in 9999 points, but differ in a ſingle point, cannot be one and the ſame thing; now the events above-mentioned have a difference in point of time in the different Evangeliſts, therefore they cannot be the ſame events. The truth of the firſt propoſition no one will diſpute, but we cannot aſſert the ſecond, without being guilty of a petitio principii, ſince the queſtion, whether each of theſe events really did happen more than once is the very thing to be determined. And, ſince it is at leaſt highly improbable that two

ſeries

ſeries of facts, ſhould perfectly reſemble each other in every circumſtance except that of time, the principium indiſcernibilium, when applied to the preſent caſe, ſhould lead us in fact to a concluſion directly contrary to that, which was drawn by Dr. Haubert[n]. Even without the aid of philoſophy, the matter is itſelf ſo clear, that if any other biographer ſhould ſo circumſtantially relate the ſame tranſactions twice, or pretend that a whole ſeries of extraordinary events happened twice in the ſpace of four years, he would forfeit all credit with his reader. I candidly declare for my own part, that, were it neceſſary to believe that the above-mentioned ſeries of events with all their circumſtances, happened more than once, my faith would waver: and if I doubted not of the truth of the Goſpel itſelf, I ſhould at leaſt doubt of the inſpiration of the Evangeliſts, and conclude that the one or the other was miſtaken.

At the ſame time I would not have it underſtood, that the ſuppoſition of an event's having happened more than once, where different periods are aſſigned to it by different Evangeliſts, is in no caſe whatſoever admiſſible. But then it muſt not be an event of the moſt extraordinary kind, nor attended in every inſtance by the ſame minute circumſtances. For inſtance, ſince various perſons at various times may have offered themſelves to be the diſciples of Chriſt, induced either by the high expectations, which were formed of his character, or by the intereſted motive of receiving from him their daily ſupport, to whom the anſwer 'Foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have neſts, but the Son of man has not where to lay his head' is well adapted, it is not improbable that this anſwer was given on more than one occaſion. When St. Matthew therefore, ch. viii. 19, 20. relates this anſwer as given by Chriſt at the lake of Geneſaret, and St. Luke, ch. ix. 57, 58. as given during the journey through Samaria toward Jeruſalem, we muſt conclude

[n] See my Programma, de principio indiſcernibilium, particularly p. 11, where I have explained myſelf more fully, and p. 15, where I have given the proof.

conclude that the two Evangeliſts here relate two different things. This is however attended with the following difficulty, that both St. Matthew and St. Luke immediately after the anſwer above quoted, agree likewiſe in another anſwer given by Chriſt to a young man, who was going to bury his father[o]. This caſe is ſo extraordinary that I cannot ſuppoſe it to have happened twice; and I can account for the difficulty in no other manner, than by ſuppoſing that the two Evangeliſts introduced, on two different occaſions, the converſation of Chriſt with this diſciple, becauſe each occaſion ſuggeſted its introduction. They relate in what manner Chriſt rejected, or invited diſciples, or put them to the teſt, though the inſtances, which they produce in the ſame place, happened at times diſtant from each other[10].

SECT. III.

Rules to be obſerved in making an Harmony of the Goſpels.

THE following are the principal rules, which are neceſſary to be obſerved in comparing the Evangeliſts with each other[1].

1. As the Evangeliſts have not written journals, we muſt not conſider it as a contradiction, if the ſame tranſaction be related by the one earlier or later than it is related by the other, provided the time be not expreſsly determined by both, ſo as to be incapable of a reconciliation.

2. Since divine inſpiration does not produce omniſcience, it is poſſible, even if we admit that all four Evangeliſts were inſpired, that ſome circumſtances of a fact were unknown to one, which were known to another. From this want of knowledge ariſes an apparent contradiction, which ought not to be conſidered

o Matth. viii. 21, 22. Luke ix. 59, 60.

as a real one. If we ſet inſpiration aſide, and conſider the Evangeliſts ſimply as human hiſtorians of credit and veracity, the rule is ſtill more applicable. For inſtance, Chriſt embarked in a veſſel, and rebuked the wind, in the evening of the ſame day, on which he had delivered the parable of the ſower and the ſeed. This appears from Mark iv. 35. 'And the ſame day, when the even was come, he ſaith unto them, Let us paſs over unto the other ſide.' But this circumſtance was unknown to St. Luke, who knew only that theſe two tranſactions were at no great diſtance from each other, and wrote therefore, ch. viii. 22. 'Now it came to paſs *on a certain day* that he went into a ſhip with his diſciples.' This is no more a contradiction, than if one of two witneſſes to the ſame fact ſhould teſtify that it happened in the Chriſtmas-week, and the other on the twenty-fifth of December. Again, St. Luke appears not to have known on what occaſion the words, which he has recorded, ch. xvii. 1—4, were uttered by Chriſt; inſtead therefore of relating them in the place, to which they really belong, namely after ch. ix. 46—50, he has arranged them among ſeveral ſcattered fragments relating to Chriſt. St. Matthew and St. Mark on the contrary have aſſigned to them their proper place, where they receive more light, eſpecially as related by the latter[p]. A third inſtance, in which St. Luke was unacquainted with the time at which a tranſaction happened is ch. xx. 1, where he ſays, 'And it came to paſs, *on one of thoſe days*:' but St. Matthew and St. Mark have determined the time more preciſely[q], though a contradiction appears to have taken place in their accounts[r], which the preſent room does not allow me to examine. Likewiſe the occaſion which gave birth to the prophecy of Chriſt, reſpecting the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, appears to have been more imperfectly known to St. Luke[s], than to the other Evangeliſts: but that even Prophets may be deficient in knowledge, and that the Apoſtles never pretended to

be

[p] Matth. xviii. 1—20. Mark ix. 33—50.
[q] See ch. xxi. 5.

be omniſcient is evident from various paſſages of the New Teſtament[r].

3. Two or more relations may be very ſimilar, and yet not the ſame: theſe muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed from each other. For inſtance, the anointing of Chriſt Luke vii. and Matth. xxvi. are manifeſtly different facts, though they ſo far agree that both happened at table, and in the houſe of one named Simon. But that the anointing happened at table is by no means a remarkable circumſtance, ſince it was agreeable to the common cuſtom of the ancients: and with reſpect to the other circumſtances, they are all different.

4. In the arrangement of the ſeveral facts attention muſt be paid to thoſe paſſages, in which the Evangeliſts expreſsly determine the time, by ſaying, 'on that day,' 'in the evening,' 'on the following day,' and the like. But we muſt be careful not to take for a determination of time, what really is not.

5. The ſame diſcourſe, ſuch as the ſermon on the mount, may have been delivered more than once, in order to impreſs the doctrines, which it contained, on thoſe who were not preſent, when it was firſt pronounced. But whether any particular diſcourſe actually was delivered more than once, muſt be determined by the circumſtances which precede and follow it: and in thoſe caſes only, where theſe circumſtances are different, it is allowable to conclude that the diſcourſe was pronounced at different times.

The rules, which I have here given, are in themſelves ſo clear, that every reader, without further explanation, will probably aſſent to them. The principal difficulty conſiſts in the application, ſince even thoſe, who agree in the principles, very frequently differ in the uſe of them. The following inſtance may ſerve to ſhew the manner, in which I would apply the rules in queſtion. The Evangeliſts St. Matthew[s] and St. Mark[t] have related, that Chriſt was anointed in the week preceding his death, and

[r] See Mark xiii. 32. 1 Cor. i. 16. 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3.

[s] Ch. xxvi. 6—13. [t] Ch. xiv. 3—9.

and all the commentators are agreed that both of them mean the ſame unction. St. John likewiſe[u] relates that Chriſt was anointed in the ſame week, and the unction, which he deſcribes, is in my opinion the very ſame with that, which St. Matthew and St. Mark have recorded, but according to others it was totally different, and happened four days earlier. Now that two different unctions happened twice in the ſame week with the ſame circumſtances, is more than I am able to believe. Should any one relate ſo circumſtantial an event as having happened to himſelf, and differ in his account with reſpect to the day, on which it took place, I ſhould certainly take the liberty to obſerve that he was guilty of a contradiction: and if, in defending himſelf from the charge of an inconſiſtency, he ſhould contend that it happened twice in the ſame week, I ſhould certainly conclude that he tranſgreſſed the bounds of truth. The two unctions above-mentioned, if we can conſider as two, what I believe to be one, agree in the following circumſtances*.

1. Both happened at Bethany.

2. In both caſes Jeſus was anointed not by his hoſt, but by a woman. However as Chriſt was frequently at Bethany, theſe circumſtances are not ſo very remarkable.

3. Both unctions took place, as I ſhall prove in the ſequel, not in the houſe of Lazarus, the friend of Jeſus where we might ſooneſt expect him, but in another houſe.

4. Both happened in the laſt week, before the ſuffering of Chriſt.

5. In both caſes the ointment was ſo expenſive, that the unction had the appearance of profuſion.

6. In both caſes we meet with the remarkable circumſtance, that the ointment was not purchaſed for the purpoſe, to which it was applied, but that it had been preſerved for ſome time by the perſon, who uſed it: for

[u] Ch. xiii. 1—8.

for the diſciples were offended, that the ointment was not ſold, and the money given to the poor, and in the account, which is given by St. John [w], it is expreſsly ſaid by Jeſus, 'Againſt the day of my burying hath ſhe *kept* this.' One might almoſt conjecture that it was the remainder of the ointment, which Martha and Mary had purchaſed for the funeral of Lazarus: the thought preſents itſelf at leaſt, on reading St. John's deſcription, as not improbable.

7. In both caſes the unction is cenſured by the diſciples.

8. In both caſes the ground of cenſure is the ſame.

9. In both caſes the unction is defended by Jeſus, and the ſame anſwer given to the diſciples.

10. The expreſſion νεκρος ταφης, which is not only very unuſual and therefore obſcure, but occurs in not a ſingle inſtance either in the Septuagint or in the New Teſtament, except on this occaſion, is uſed both by St. Mark, and by St. John: the ointment therefore uſed in both caſes was ſtrictly the ſame.

Theſe circumſtances are too numerous and too particular, to have happened twice: not to mention the improbability, that the diſciples, after having been rebuked by Jeſus ſix days before Eaſter, for having cenſured the unction, ſhould preſume to repeat their cenſure on a ſimilar occaſion, on the ſecond day before Eaſter. For it contained a manifeſt incivility to Jeſus himſelf, which they muſt have very ſenſibly felt, when he anſwered them, 'The poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not always',[x] and of which therefore they would have hardly been guilty only four days afterwards.

In the two accounts, which are given by St. Matthew and St. John, I perceive not the leaſt variation, except that in ſome points the one is more copious than the other; but their deſcriptions are ſo far from being inconſiſtent, that they have all the appearance of proceeding from two different eye-witneſſes to the ſame fact.

1. Accord-

[w] Ch. xii. 7. [x] John xii. 8.

1. According to St. Matthew and St. Mark a *woman* anoints Jeſus: according to St. John, he is anointed by *Mary*, and if we may judge from what he ſays in the ſecond verſe, by Mary the Siſter of Lazarus. This however is no contradiction, when one hiſtorian omits the name of the woman, the other mentions it. Nay, even from the very ſilence of St. Matthew and St. Mark in reſpect to the name, may be deduced an argument in ſupport of the opinion, that the unction deſcribed by St. Matthew and St. John is the ſame. St. Matthew and St. Mark muſt have had particular reaſons for concealing the name of the woman, ſince according to their own relation Jeſus declared that what ſhe had done ſhould be preached in the whole world for a memorial of her. Now this cannot have happened unleſs ſhe was the Mary mentioned by St. John: and it would follow from the ſuppoſition of two different unctions, that the declaration of Jeſus had remained unfulfilled. Perhaps the real ſtate of the caſe is as follows. The two firſt Evangeliſts, who have made no mention of the raiſing of Lazarus from the dead, that they might not expoſe him to perſecution from the Jewiſh Sanhedrim, have probably, for the ſame reaſon, concealed the name of his ſiſter Mary, who anointed Jeſus with the ointment which remained after the interment of Lazarus. St. John on the contrary expreſsly mentions it, becauſe he wrote after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and could therefore have no reaſon for concealing the name either of Lazarus, or of Mary.

2. According to St. Matthew, the entertainment was given in the houſe of Simon the leper: according to St. John, Lazarus was one of them who ſat at the table with him[y], and his ſiſter Martha ſerved. Some commentators have conſidered this as a variation in the ſtory, and have concluded from St. John's deſcription that the entertainment was given in the Houſe of Lazarus. But this is certainly not true, ſince no one, in ſpeaking of the maſter of the houſe, would ſay, 'he was one of thoſe

[y] Εις των ανακειμενων.

thoſe who ſat at the table.' On the contrary, this very expreſſion proves that he was only a gueſt, and that the entertainment was given in the houſe of a Friend, in which his ſiſter, who was a diligent houſewife[z], prepared the table.

3. According to St. Matthew, the woman poured the box of ointment on the head of Jeſus; according to St. John ſhe anointed his feet. But even this circumſtance is not ſufficient to prove two diſtinct unctions, though among all the variations it is the moſt conſiderable. That Mary did not leave the head of Jeſus unanointed we may take for granted from the general practice of the Eaſt: but this is not related by St. John, who mentions only the more extraordinary circumſtance omitted by St. Matthew and St. Mark, that the woman anointed his feet. It is agreeable to John's peculiar manner to relate circumſtances omitted by his predeceſſors.

4. According to St. Matthew, the diſciples in general, according to St. Mark, only ſome of them had indignation, and cenſured the woman. This cannot be conſidered as a contradiction: for when St. Matthew ſays in general terms 'the diſciples,' it does not neceſſarily follow, that he meant all of them without exception, nor is it probable that all of them expreſſed their opinion. But St. John mentions Judas Iſcariot, as the perſon who cenſured the action. Still however we cannot conclude that the Evangeliſts have deſcribed two different unctions. One of the diſciples muſt have made a beginning, to whom others acceded, though probably not in the ſame words. This perſon is particularly named by St. John, who likewiſe adds the motive, which induced him to caſt the cenſure. Perhaps St. Matthew and St. Peter acceded to the opinion of Judas, but not St. John: and hence St. Matthew and St. Mark ſpeak openly in the plural number, that they might not conceal the part which St. Matthew and St. Peter had taken in this unjuſt cenſure.

It is further objected, that the clear and certain marks by which the time is determined by the different Evangeliſts,

[z] See Luke x. 40.

Evangeliſts, prove two diſtinct tranſactions: that St. John mentions expreſsly the ſixth Day before Eaſter[a], and St. Matthew as expreſsly the ſecond day before Eaſter[b], as the day on which the unction happened. Now that the time is ſo clearly determined by both Evangeliſts is more than I am able to perceive; and if any one could perſuade me, that it really were ſo, I ſhould inſtantly give up the inſpiration either of one or both of the Evangeliſts, and conclude that either one or both of them were guilty of a miſtake in referring to two different days what according to the dictates of common ſenſe could be only one and the ſame tranſaction. I ſhould *in that caſe* be perſuaded, that if the two Evangeliſts were now alive, and could be queſtioned relative to the preſent difficulty, they would be ſo far from contending that the ſame tranſaction with all its concomitant circumſtances happened twice in the ſame week, that one of them (namely in the caſe aſſumed) would candidly own, he was guilty of a miſtake.

But as far as my eyes enable me to ſee, (though other eyes perhaps may ſee differently from mine,) the aſſertion is really ungrounded. That St. John has determined the date to be the ſixth day before the paſſover, is not to be diſputed. But St. Matthew is ſilent as to the day, on which the unction happened; and it is owing only to the modern diviſion of Matthew's text into chapters, that we ſuppoſe, he has determined the time. The Evangeliſt has not written, 'On the ſecond day before the paſſover Jeſus was at an entertainment in Bethany,' but after having related a diſcourſe which Jeſus had made to his diſciples, he adds, 'And it came to paſs, when Jeſus had finiſhed all theſe ſayings, he ſaid unto his diſciples, ye know that after two days is the feaſt of the paſſover, and the ſon of man is betrayed to be crucified.' Immediately afterwards the Evangeliſt relates the plot which was formed againſt the life of Jeſus in the following manner; 'Then (τοτε)

[a] John xii. 1. [b] Matthew xxvi. 2.

(τοτε) aſſembled together the chief prieſts, and the ſcribes, and the elders of the people, unto the palace of the high prieſt, who was called Caiaphas, and conſulted that they might take Jeſus by ſubtlety, and kill him. But they ſaid not on the feaſt day, leſt there be an uproar among the people.' Now the word τοτε which is capable of a very extenſive ſignification, no more determines this conſultation to have happened on the ſame day, on which Jeſus delivered his diſcourſe to the apoſtles, than that it happened in the ſame hour. But even if we admit that both of them happened on the ſame day, it will by no means follow that the entertainment likewiſe at Bethany took place on that day; at leaſt the words with which St. Matthew begins his relation of it 'Now when Jeſus was in Bethany in the houſe of Simon the leper,' contain no determination of time, and may as eaſily refer to a preceding, as to a preſent period[5].

Still however it might be objected, that though St. Matthew and St. Mark have not expreſsly mentioned the day, on which the unction took place in Bethany, they have at leaſt aſſigned to it a place in that part of their narrative, where they were advanced to within two days of the paſſover. Now this objection preſuppoſes that the Evangeliſts always wrote according to the order of time, which they certainly did not: and if we only make a different diviſion of the chapters, and reckon to the twenty-fifth chapter the two firſt verſes of the twenty-ſixth, the unction at Bethany, which is related in the following verſes, will have leſs reference to the time ſpecified in thoſe two verſes[6]. But at this rate, perhaps it might be ſaid, the Evangeliſts have written in a very irregular manner, arranging their facts in an order very different from that in which they really happened, and that an irregularity of this kind is hardly to be expected from an inſpired writer. This objection brings the matter to an iſſue, and the anſwer, which I would make to it, is, that beſide the order of time, there is another arrangement in hiſtory which

may be called the order of things[7]. That is, facts which are connected with each other are arranged together, in order that the relation between cauſe and effect may be more diſtinctly ſeen: and it is this very arrangement which diſtinguiſhes the entertaining and inſtructive hiſtorian from the mere annaliſt[8]. To the end of the twenty-fifth, or rather as far as the ſecond verſe of the twenty-ſixth Chapter, St. Matthew had recorded day by day the ſeveral remarkable diſcourſes, which Chriſt held in the laſt week of his life. He then proceeds to relate the hiſtory of Chriſt's paſſion, to which the unction at Bethany had an immediate relation. The Jewiſh Sanhedrim had formed the reſolution to put Jeſus to death, but not on the feaſt day: and it was the unction at Bethany, which afforded them the means of getting him into their power, though on the day which they had endeavoured to avoid. This may be gathered from St. Matthew's own relation, who after having deſcribed the conſultation of the Sanhedrim, immediately relates the unction at Bethany, and then adds, 'Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iſcariot, went unto the chief prieſts, and ſaid unto them, what will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you[c]?' The account given by St. Matthew is in ſome meaſure obſcure, becauſe we do not perceive in what manner the circumſtance of the unction excited in Judas the reſolution to betray his maſter. But this we clearly ſee from the relation of St. John, from which it appears, that Judas was properly the perſon, who cenſured the unction, under the pretence, that the ointment ought to have been ſold for the benefit of the poor, and that this ſpecious pretext met likewiſe with the approbation of other Apoſtles. The true reaſon, as St. John expreſsly declares, why Judas wiſhed that the ointment had been ſold, was the hope of having a further opportunity of defrauding the money bag, which was intruſted to his care. The anſwer

[c] Matth. xxvi. 14, 15.

anſwer therefore of Jeſus affected Judas in particular, whoſe guilty conſcience augmented the ſeverity of the rebuke. Under theſe circumſtances it is by no means extraordinary that Judas reſolved to take revenge, eſpecially when we conſider that he was already an apoſtate[d], and thought perhaps that, if contrary to his belief, Jeſus was really the Meſſiah, the meaſures concerted againſt him would be of no avail, but that on the other hand, if Jeſus was an impoſtor, he would meet with the fate which he deſerved. It appears then that the unction at Bethany, which gave riſe to the offer of Judas to the Sanhedrim to betray Chriſt, is more properly arranged immediately before the relation of the effect which it produced, than it would have been, if placed at the beginning of the twenty-firſt chapter, to which it properly belongs according to the order of time[9].

The preceding example muſt ſuffice for the preſent, ſince if I examined other parts of the Evangelic hiſtory in the ſame manner, I ſhould compoſe an Harmony of the Goſpels, inſtead of writing a general introduction to the New Teſtament.

Sometimes a contradiction may be removed by the help of a various reading, of which I have given an inſtance[10] in my Hiſtory of the Reſurrection[e], taken from Matth. xxvii. 60. Of the aid of critical conjecture in removing contradictions I have given an example in this Introduction[f], from John vi. 21. Laſtly, it is not improbable that ſome of the contradictions obſervable in St. Matthew's Goſpel, did not proceed from the author himſelf, but from the perſon who tranſlated it from Hebrew into Greek.

[d] John vi. 67—71. [e] P. 43—46.
[f] Vol. II. Ch. x, Sect. 4.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of the inference to be deduced from the ſuppoſition, that real contradictions exiſt in the four Goſpels.

IF it can be ſhewn, that real contradictions, that is, ſuch as are wholly incapable of a reconciliation, exiſt in the four Goſpels, the only inference to be deduced is, that the writers were not infallible, or in other words, not inſpired by the Deity; but we are by no means warranted to conclude, becauſe the hiſtorians vary in their accounts, that the hiſtory itſelf is a forgery. I have treated this ſubject at large in the Preface to the Hiſtory of the Reſurrection[g]; at preſent, therefore, I ſhall only remark what deſerves particular notice.

When ſeveral perſons relate the ſame ſtory, it is hardly poſſible, even if they were eye-witneſſes to the tranſaction which they record, and ſtill leſs ſo if they received their information from others, to coincide exactly in their accounts, ſince the ſame circumſtances will either not be obſerved or not be remembered by all. Yet if they all agreed in the main point, no one would conclude that the whole ſtory was a forgery, merely becauſe the perſons, who related it, diſagreed in ſome of the concomitant circumſtances. An inference of this kind would convert the moſt valuable hiſtories into fabulous legends.

When two Pruſſian officers, who ſerved during the ſeven years war, from 1756 to 1763, relate the tranſactions of that memorable period, each of them is guilty of ſome miſtakes, eſpecially in regard to dates and numbers, of which the unavoidable conſequence is, that they will contradict each other. If we read Lloyd's and Tempelhoff's Hiſtory of this war, we ſhall find not only that they contradict each other, but that both of them frequently contradict the official intelligence printed in the Berlin Gazette. I will mention as an inſtance the battle of Prague, in which Lloyd has made

[g] P. xviii.—lviii.

made the liſt of killed and wounded on the part of the Auſtrians ſo very inconſiderable, as to be almoſt incredible, when we conſider the important conſequences, to which that engagement immediately led. Yet no one would therefore conclude, either that the ſeven years war in general, or the battle of Prague in particular, was a mere fable. Whoever has examined the ſources of the Roman hiſtory, not barely with a view of learniſig a dead language, but with the eye of a critical hiſtorian, muſt have obſerved many contradictions, which no art can poſſibly reconcile. The battle of Pharſalia, for inſtance, is deſcribed by Florus in a manner very different from that, in which it is deſcribed by Cæſar: for in their accounts of the number of the combatants, which entered the field on both ſides, there is a difference of not leſs than an hundred and fifty thouſand. Yet no man would therefore contend that the battle of Pharſalia, which determined the fate of the world, was a mere fable. It is the ſame with the Grecian hiſtory even in the moſt enlightened ages, as appears from the contradictions in the accounts which we read of the expedition of Xerxes, and the ſtrength of his army. The hiſtory of the celebrated Judas Maccabæus, as related in the firſt book of the Maccabees, a work written at the ſame time when Judas himſelf lived, differs frequently from the ſame hiſtory as related in the ſecond book of the Maccabees, and ſometimes from the accounts of Joſephus. Nay, what is ſtill more, we find Joſephus contradicting even himſelf, when we compare his Antiquities with his Hiſtory of the Jewiſh war. I mention Joſephus in particular, as an author in whoſe writings contradictions are to be found, becauſe I can refer, in ſupport of my aſſertion, to my notes to the firſt book of the Maccabees, in which many of thoſe contradictions are noted.

If the four Evangeliſts were not rendered infallible by the immediate intervention of the Deity, it is hardly poſſible, that their accounts ſhould be wholly free from error, and therefore in no caſe contradictory to each other.

other. But even if it be true, that their accounts are ſometimes at variance, it by no means follows, that the hiſtory itſelf, the miracles and the reſurrection of Chriſt are a forgery: and the only inference, which we can deduce from it, is that the Evangeliſts were not inſpired, at leaſt not in the relation of hiſtorical facts. I have already obſerved in this Introduction[h], as well as in my Hiſtory of the Reſurrection[i], that a conceſſion of this kind is no injury to the Chriſtian religion: to two of the Evangeliſts, Mark and Luke, the promiſe of the ſupernatural aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, which was given by Chriſt to the Apoſtles, is wholly inapplicable, and I have freely confeſſed in the firſt volume of this work[k], that I can ſee no proof of their having been inſpired. St. Matthew and St. John were, it is true, Apoſtles, but ſhall we therefore conclude that they were inſpired in matters of hiſtory? The paſſage which I quoted in the chapter on Inſpiration from John xiv. 26. "The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghoſt, whom the Father will ſend in my name, ſhall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatſoever I have ſaid unto you," contains a promiſe of aſſiſtance from the Holy Ghoſt, and of the infallibility ariſing from that aſſiſtance, merely in reſpect to the ſpeeches and diſcourſes of Chriſt, which form the primary ſource of our religious faith and knowledge: but it contains no promiſe, at leaſt none in direct and poſitive terms, of any ſupernatural aid in the recording of facts, which they had either ſeen themſelves, or heard from others. To ſpeak the truth, I do not believe that the Evangeliſts were divinely inſpired in matters of hiſtory: I have made this declaration already in the ſecond edition of my Dogmatic Theology[l], where I have given the grounds of my opinion, which it is here unneceſſary to tranſcribe. This opinion by no means impugns the doctrines of the Lutheran church, as delivered in the Symbolic Books[z], though it is contrary to the tenets which

[h] Vol. I. ch. iii. ſect. 1.
[i] P. xxxv.
[k] Ch. iii. ſect. 3.
[l] P. 123, 126.

which are advanced in many of our ſyſtems of divinity.

Are there really contradictions then, it may be aſked, in the four Goſpels, which are utterly incapable of being reconciled? I will not poſitively and decidedly aſſert that there are, becauſe, as every aſſertion requires proof, I ſhould be under the neceſſity of examining at each particular example the various arguments, which have been alleged both for and againſt the queſtion, which would give riſe to a diſquiſition too long for the preſent place. I will only ſay therefore, it appears to me, that there are ſuch contradictions; but their number is very inconſiderable, and indeed much more inconſiderable, than in proportion to the variety of matter in the four Goſpels we might reaſonably expect. I will mention a ſingle inſtance, the account of the blind Bartimeus at Jericho, related Matth. xx. 29—34. Mark x. 46—52. Luke xviii. 35—43. I find no contradiction in the circumſtance, that St. Matthew, who was eye-witneſs to the tranſaction, ſpeaks of two blind perſons, St. Mark and St. Luke on the contrary of only one, who by St. Mark is called Bartimeus: ſince it is poſſible that two blind perſons on that occaſion received their ſight, that both of them were known to St. Matthew, who was preſent at the time, but that only one of them was known to St. Mark and St. Luke, who were not eye-witneſſes to the fact. So far then the accounts are not contradictory, and all that can be ſaid is, that one Evangeliſt has related leſs, than is related by the other, becauſe he was not omniſcient, and therefore did not know all that happened. But when St. Matthew and St. Mark, of whom the former was eye-witneſs, relate that the miracle was performed by Chriſt 'as he went out of Jericho,' St. Luke on the contrary 'as he was come nigh unto Jericho,' and moreover the entry into that city is mentioned by St. Luke[m] as having taken place *after* the performance of the miracle, I confeſs I am wholly unable to reconcile the contradiction, and muſt therefore conclude that

[m] Chap. xix. 1.

that St. Luke, who was not an eye-witneſs to the fact, was in this inſtance miſtaken. In a ſubſequent part of this Introduction, where I treat of St. Luke's Goſpel in particular, I ſhall take notice of ſeveral examples of this kind, and obſerve that the moſt material contradictions, which I am unable to reconcile, are between St. Luke and thoſe two Evangeliſts, who were eye-witneſſes to the facts, which they have recorded.

Whether St. John has corrected in an indirect and delicate manner the faults of his predeceſſors is a queſtion, which I ſhall reſerve for that part, where I eſpecially examine the Goſpel of that Evangeliſt.

SECT. V.

Examination of the different degrees of importance in the different kinds of contradiction obſervable in the Four Goſpels.

THE contradictions obſervable in the four Goſpels, even ſuch as may be ſhewn to be real, are of very different degrees of importance, which ought to be particularly noted, though they have hitherto engaged but ſeldom the attention of the harmoniſts.

In the firſt place, if a contradiction exiſts between the twelve laſt verſes of St. Mark's Goſpel and the other Goſpels, it is of no importance whatſoever, and affects not even the queſtion of divine inſpiration: for that theſe twelve verſes proceeded from the hand of St. Mark is more than any one can prove. In the ſequel I ſhall treat of them more at large.

Secondly, a contradiction between either St. Mark or St. Luke, who were neither Apoſtles nor eye-witneſſes, and St. Matthew and St. John, who were both, proves nothing more than, that they were not inſpired. In a diſagreement of this kind, it is reaſonable that we ſhould be guided by the authority of the eye-witneſſes.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, a contradiction between the Goſpel of St. Luke and the two firſt chapters of St. Matthew's Goſpel is of ſtill leſs importance, becauſe it may be doubted, whether theſe two chapters were written by St. Matthew. Even if we admitted therefore that what is written by St. Luke[1], ch. ii. 51. were not to be reconci'ed with the account given in St. Matthew's Goſpel of the coming of the wiſe men from the Eaſt, and the flight of Jeſus into Egypt, which however in my opinion is very poſſible, we ſhould ſtill have no reaſon to doubt the truth of the Chriſtian Religion, and of the New Teſtament at large, but only either of the two firſt chapters of St. Matthew's Goſpel, which in other reſpects abound with difficulties, or the relation which is given by St. Luke.

Fourthly, real contradictions between St. Matthew and St John, which are wholly incapable of reconciliation, prove nothing more, than that the Apoſtles were not inſpired in hiſtorical matters. But as I have already obſerved, theſe contradictions may be aſcribed to the Greek tranſlator of St. Matthew's Goſpel.

Fifthly, the contradictions of the greateſt importance, if we except Mark xvi. 9—20. are thoſe which have been obſerved in the hiſtory of the reſurrection, becauſe the truth of this hiſtory, and the teſtimony of thoſe perſons, who are alledged as witneſſes of its reality, determine in a great meaſure the truth of the Chriſtian religion. Notwithſtanding the pains, which have been taken to reconcile theſe contradictions, I am of opinion, that our endeavours have not been ſo ſucceſsful as we commonly believe; though on the other hand, I have fallen ſometimes, as it were by accident, on ſatisfactory ſolutions, where after the moſt ſtudied and anxious attempts I have failed of ſucceſs. This is not the place to introduce the reſult of my inquiries, which I muſt reſerve either for my public lectures, or for my notes on the four Goſpels if I ſhould live to publiſh them[2]. ——Thus far I had written in the year 1777, and I purpoſely leave it unaltered in the preſent edition, that the public may be convinced, it is not my intention to ſuppreſs

ſuppreſs the difficulties, which I feel. The Fragments, as they were called, which were publiſhed by Leſſing in that very year, in the fourth number of the 'Contributions to hiſtory and literature, from the treaſures of the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel,'[3] in which an anonymous writer attacked the Chriſtian religion, and particularly the hiſtory of the reſurrection[4], induced me to renew my inquiries, the reſult of which I publiſhed in the year 1783, in a work entitled, 'Expoſition of the hiſtory of Chriſt's burial and reſurrection, according to all four Evangeliſts,' and which I leave to the examination of the reader[5].

SECT. VI.

An account of the principal Harmonies.

I WILL now proceed to an account of thoſe writers, who have endeavoured to reconcile the four Evangeliſts, and to reduce their hiſtory to chronological order; which will afford likewiſe an opportunity of making ſome remarks on ſeveral explanations relative to the Goſpels. But it is far from my deſign to mention all the writers who have written harmonies: a tolerably complete liſt of them, in alphabetical order, may be ſeen in Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca[1], Lib. iv. Cap. v. § 20, and a more entertaining hiſtorical deſcription of them is contained in E. D. Hauber's Life of Jeſus Chriſt[2], p. 1—14.

To begin with the ancient harmonies, it is well known that Tatian of Syria, and Theophilus Biſhop of Antioch, wrote harmonies as early as the ſecond century. A work ſuppoſed to be the Harmony of Tatian was publiſhed by Ottomar Luſcinius[3], in 1523; and in the following year 1524, Michael Member publiſhed another harmony, which was attributed to Ammonius of Alexandria[4]. But though theſe works are of great antiquity,

antiquity, it is doubted whether they are genuine[5]. See Fabricii Codex Apocryphus N. T. p. 378. The real Diateſſaron (διὰ τεσσάρων) of Tatian, or his Arrangement of the tranſactions of Chriſt according to the four Evangeliſts is no longer extant: but the circumſtance of his having written a work of that kind deſerves to be remembered, becauſe it is of ſome importance in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. It is ſuppoſed that this is the work, which we find ſometimes quoted in ancient writers by the name of 'the Syrian[6].'

Euſebius has compoſed a very celebrated Harmony of the Goſpels. He has divided the evangelic hiſtory into ten canons, or tables, which are prefixed to many editions and verſions of the New Teſtament. In the firſt canon he has arranged according to the ancient chapters[7] thoſe parts of the hiſtory of Chriſt, which are related by all four Evangeliſts. In the reſt he has diſpoſed the portions of hiſtory related by

2. St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke.
3. St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John.
4. St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John.
5. St. Matthew, and St. Luke.
6. St. Matthew, and St. Mark.
7. St. Matthew, and St. John.
8. St. Luke, and St. Mark.
9. St. Luke, and St. John.
10. Only one of the four Evangeliſts[8].

It is evident from a bare inſpection of theſe tables, that they are nothing more than indexes to the four Goſpels, and that they by no means form an harmony, of the nature of thoſe, which have been written in modern ages, and which are deſigned to bring the ſeveral facts recorded by the Evangeliſts into chronological order, and to reconcile contradictions.

I ſhall not detain the reader any longer either with theſe ancient harmonies, or with thoſe of the middle ages, as they are very little uſed, and men of learning content themſelves with being able to enumerate their titles, without ever conſulting the works themſelves.

But

But there are two in particular, which I cannot paſs over without mentioning at leaſt their names, Ludolphus[9] de vita Jeſu Chriſti, and Gerſon[10] Monoteſſaron de concordantia evangeliſtarum.

The celebrated Andreas Oſiander publiſhed the firſt edition of his Harmony of the Goſpels in 1537. He adopted the principle, that the Evangeliſts conſtantly wrote in chronological order, and that the ſame tranſactions and diſcourſes took place twice or thrice in the life of Chriſt. From this alone we may judge of the merits of the work itſelf. Oſiander is the head and leader of thoſe harmoniſts who undeſignedly render the Goſpel hiſtory not only ſuſpicious, but incredible. It muſt be acknowledged however that he has not gone ſo far as his ſucceſſors, and that he ſometimes deviates from his general principle.

Cornelii Janſenii commentaria in concordiam evangelicam, publiſhed[11] in 1571, is at the ſame time an expoſition of the four Goſpels.

Martin Chemnitz wrote a very ample harmony of the Goſpels, which was continued by Polycarp Leyſer, and John Gerhard. The firſt edition of it appeared in[12] 1593; and the laſt edition was publiſhed at Hamburgh in 1704. It conſiſts of three volumes folio, and is not only a harmony, but likewiſe a learned commentary on the Goſpels: but the author has too cloſely followed Oſiander[13].

Samuel Craddock's Harmony of the Evangeliſts, which is alſo a learned and entertaining expoſition of the Goſpels, was publiſhed in London in 1668 in folio[14]. Craddock has drawn up the Goſpel hiſtory in an explanatory paraphraſe in Engliſh, and has added ſhort but uſeful notes in Latin.

Sandhagen publiſhed his Introduction to the harmony of the Goſpels in 1684. However great the merits of this author are in reſpect to the ſacred writings in general, I cannot beſtow much praiſe on this work in particular, for the principle, which I cenſured in Oſiander, is carried here to a ſtill greater length.

Bern. Lamy Commentarius in harmoniam ſive concordiam Evangeliſtarum, publiſhed at Paris in 1699, is a learned work, and it is itſelf a commentary on the Goſpels [15].

Johan. Clerici harmonia evangelica, printed at Amſterdam [16] in 1700, is an uſeful book. Le Clerc has in general very juſt notions with reſpect to an harmony of the Goſpels, which he has delivered in a diſſertation annexed to his work. He has arranged the hiſtory of the four Evangeliſts according to chronological order, in columns parallel to each other, in Greek and in Latin: under the text he has added a Latin paraphraſe, the deſign of which is to remove the apparent contradictions.

William Whiſton's 'Short view of the Chronology of the Old Teſtament, and of the Harmony of the four Evangeliſts,' publiſhed at Cambridge in 1702, deſerves particular notice. Whiſton is of opinion, that the Evangeliſts wrote according to the order of time, except in one ſingle paſſage: and that the reaſon, why St. Matthew appears to be at variance with the other Evangeliſts, is that the chapters in his Goſpels, from the fourth to the tenth [17], have been ſtrangely confounded and intermixed by the copyiſts. This opinion he endeavours to ſupport by the circumſtance, that in St. Mark's Goſpel, which he ſuppoſes to be only an abridgment of St. Matthew's, a very different arrangement is obſerved, from that which we find at preſent in the Goſpel of St. Matthew [18]. My ſentiments on this ſubject I ſhall deliver in the laſt ſection of this chapter.

Jo. Reinh. Rus publiſhed at Iena in 1727, in four volumes octavo [19], a work entitled, Harmonia evangeliſtarum ita adornata, ut, inveſtigatâ ſedulo textus cohærentiâ, nullus verſus ſive trajiciatur, ſive prætereatur ſine brevi et ſuccincta explicatione, quo juſti commentarii loco eſſe queat. He follows principally Sandhagen, and there is nothing in his explanations, which is particularly remarkable. Wherever he has an opportunity of diſplaying his knowledge of Hebrew antiquities,

tiquities, or of the geography of Paleſtine, he is extremely prolix, and introduces matter, which is wholly foreign to the purpoſe of explaining the paſſages in queſtion. For inſtance, in his notes on St. Luke i. 39, 40. he inquires what the name of the city was, in which Elizabeth dwelt: and after having obſerved, that ſome commentators ſuppoſe it to have been Hebron, he gives the ancient hiſtory of that city, mentions its various names, relates what perſons were buried there, and even examines whether it was not the burial place of Adam. In ſhort his object was to write a great deal, in order that his work might appear to be very learned, though the author's learning extended no further than to a knowledge of Hebrew: hence he was obliged to be prolix, or his work would, in his own opinion, have been too ſmall.

Bengel, in his Harmony of the Goſpels, publiſhed in 1736, proceeds upon more juſt principles, and maintains that the Evangeliſts did not write merely in chronological order. But the chronology, which Bengel has adopted, is not at all times to be defended, and the arrangement which he has choſen for the ſeveral facts is too frequently the reſult of a particular ſyſtem.

In the year following, E. D. Hauber publiſhed, 1. 'An Harmony of the Evangeliſts,' in which the words of the Evangeliſts themſelves, according to the German verſion, are printed in the order which, in Mr. Hauber's opininion, correſponds to the time in which each tranſaction happened. 2. 'The Life of Jeſus Chriſt, taken from the accounts of all the four Evangeliſts, reduced into a ſmall compaſs,' and accompanied with a general Introduction to the Harmony of the Evangeliſts.' 3. "Harmonical Obſervations." Of theſe writings the laſt is the moſt valuable, the two former being of leſs value, on account of the principle, which the author had adopted, and from which he has never deviated, that the four Goſpels are abſolute

ſolute journals, and never deviate from the order of time [20].

In the year 1756 Büſching publiſhed the firſt volume of an harmony under the title, 'The four Evangeliſts put together in their own words, tranſlated into German, and accompanied with numerous annotations [21],' a work both entertaining and inſtructive, and containing in particular much valuable geographical information, which throws a light on many paſſages of the life of Chriſt, which were before obſcure. In the arrangement of the tranſactions Büſching chiefly follows Hauber: in this reſpect therefore we are of different opinions, yet I have a great deſire to ſee the work completed.

In the next year, namely in 1767, Bertling publiſhed a 'New Harmony of the four Evangeliſts [22],' a work founded on principles diametrically oppoſite to thoſe adopted by Büſching, a work likewiſe, which ſhews the author to have poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of penetration, and which deſerves particular attention. As far as general principles go, I perfectly accede to the opinion of this author: but I would not have it underſtood, that I agree with him in their application to each particular caſe, or in the arrangement of every tranſaction [23].

Whoever is in poſſeſſion of the harmonies written by Whiſton, Bengel, Hauber, Büſching, and Bertling, may in general diſpenſe with the other more voluminous harmonies: for in thoſe, which I have here enumerated, he will find the grounds of the different opinions advanced by the ſeveral harmoniſts fully explained and defended [24]. With reſpect to thoſe writers who have not written general harmonies, but have attempted only to reconcile ſingle contradictions, the reader will excuſe me, if I paſs them over in ſilence, as the enumeration of them would take up too much room for the preſent ſection [25].

SECT.

SECT. VII.

Harmony of the Goſpels propoſed by the author of this Introduction.

THE harmony, which I ſhall deliver in this ſection, is a table of contents to the four Evangeliſts[1], which I have drawn up with a view of aſſiſting the reader in his examination of the ſeveral tranſactions recorded in the Goſpels and of directing his judgement in the various inferences, to which ſuch an examination may give birth. I will firſt however explain the principles, upon which this table is formed.

1. Chronology, and the arrangement of facts according to the order of time, a matter, which St. Matthew and St. Mark at leaſt have wholly diſregarded [2], and to which the Evangeliſts in general have paid much leſs attention than is imagined by thoſe, who conſider their Goſpels as journals, is diſcoverable only in ſome few paſſages of the Goſpels of St. Luke and St. John [3]. For inſtance, St. Luke has determined, ch. iii. 1-3. the period at which John the Baptiſt, who was at that time about thirty years of age, began publicly to preach [4]. Again, from a compariſon of ch. i. 8. with 1 Chron. xxiv. 10. we find that the annunciation of the birth of St. John happened in the fourth month of the Jews, which correſponds nearly to our July [5], conſequently the conception of St. John (which took place ſoon after the return of Zacharias from his ſervice in the Temple) in the month of Auguſt [6]: whence it appears that John was born in May [7], and Jeſus in October [n].—St. John likewiſe, by

[n] It is true, that according to this mode of reckoning Jeſus was born at a different part of the year from that, in which we celebrate his birth. But our feſtivals were not arranged according to the time, in which the ſeveral events intended to be celebrated really happened; for they were ſubſtituted in the place of heathen feſtivals, in order to annihilate even the traces of heatheniſm. Thus the feſtival called Nativitas Invicti was converted into Nativitas Chriſti [8].

by determining the feaſts of the Paſſover, and other feaſts, at which Jeſus was preſent in Jeruſalem, has in ſome meaſure introduced chronology into his hiſtory of Chriſt's miniſtry, which may be applied to the other Goſpels, becauſe St. John has ſome material facts, which form ſo many epochs, or points of reckoning, in the life of Chriſt, in common with the other Evangeliſts[9]. See the following Table, N°. 22. 53. 97.

2. But not all the ſingle facts, related by the three firſt Evangeliſts, can be introduced with certainty either in the intervals determined by the above-mentioned feaſts of the Paſſover, or in the intervals determined by the three principal points of reckoning juſt mentioned, becauſe the Evangeliſts follow not always the order of time.

3. For this reaſon, I would not have the reader ſuppoſe, that the ſeveral facts delivered in the following Table are arranged, without exception, according to the order, in which they really happened: for it is my intention to give rather a General Index to the Four Goſpels, than to draw up a Chronological Table. In general, I follow St. Matthew, who was eye-witneſs to the facts which he has recorded, and from whoſe arrangement I ſhall not depart, except for particular reaſons, as in N° 33—38.

4. I ſhall not attempt to determine the time with any certainty, except in thoſe caſes, where it is determined by the Evangeliſts themſelves; as, for inſtance, where they ſay, 'on the evening of the ſame day,' or, 'on the following morning,' or as in N° 63, 'after *ſix* days,' which I do not conſider as a contradiction to St. Luke, who ſays, 'about *eight* days after.' It is true that in theſe determinations of time the Evangeliſts might make miſtakes, if they were not rendered infallible by divine inſpiration: but of hiſtorians in general we ſuppoſe that their accounts are exact, till we have reaſon to believe the contrary, and I know of no ſuch reaſon, which takes place in regard to the Evangeliſts. When one Evangeliſt determines the time,

and the other does not; for instance, when the one unites several facts in such a manner, as to shew that they happened on the same day, but the other separates them in his narrative, I follow the former in preference to the latter.

5. St. Luke, ch. ix. 51.—xviii. 14. has recorded a set of facts without any determination of time, and which appear to have happened in different years. These facts I arrange (N°. 69—83) in the order in which they are placed in St. Luke's Gospel, except those, which are determined in point of time by other Evangelists: but this order must not be considered as chronological. In some of these facts, for instance, N°. 69, 77, are traces, from which we may perceive, that they happened a few months before the death of Christ; but some of them certainly happened much earlier. It is therefore not commendable, that harmonists, not excepting even the excellent Archbishop Usher, have interwoven them in the continued narrative of the life of Christ, into which they cannot with any propriety be introduced. Several volumes of anecdotes of the late King of Prussia have lately been published, but wholly without regard to the order of time. Any person therefore, who undertook to compose a chronological journal of the life of the late King, might introduce all those anecdotes, of which the time is capable of being determined: but those, which admit of no determination, he would be obliged to omit.

6. That I do not deny, there are contradictions in the Gospels, appears from what I have already written on this subject: but the greatest part of them admit of a reconciliation, which however I cannot attempt at present, because it is a subject, which properly belongs to the Notes to the New Testament.

ST. MATTHEW [10].	ST. MARK.
2. Genealogy of Christ. I. 1-17.	
6. Joseph's dream, I. 18-24.	
8. Birth of Christ, I. 25.	
11. Jesus sought, and worshipped by the wise men: flight into Egypt, and return: massacre of the children of Bethlehem, Ch. II. 1-23.	

ST. LUKE.	ST. JOHN.
1. Preface, I. 1-4.	I. 1-14.
III. 23-38.	
3. Birth of John, I. 5-25.	
4. Birth of Chriſt announced to Mary, I. 26-38.	
5. Mary's viſit to Elizabeth, I. 39-55	
7. Birth of John, I. 56-80.	
II. 1-20.	
9. Circumciſion of Chriſt, II. 21.	
10. Preſentation of Chriſt in the temple, II. 22-40.	

St. MATTHEW.	St. MARK.
13. John preaches, III. 1-12.	I. 1-8.
14. Christ baptized, III. 13-17.	I. 9-11.
15. Christ tempted, IV. 1-11.	I. 12, 13.

ST. LUKE.	ST. JOHN.
12. Education of Christ, and remarkable history of him in his twelfth year, at the feast of the passover II. 41-52.	
III. 1-20.	
III. 21-23.	
IV. 1-12.	
	16. Remarkable addition made by this Evangelist, relative to the testimonies in favour of Christ, by which he obtained his first disciples, who soon increased in numbers, I. 15-52.
	17—20. History of Christ before the imprisonment of John.
	17. Christ returns to Galilee, and changes water into wine at Cana, II. 1-12.
	18. Goes to Jerusalem at the feast of the passover, and drives the sellers out of the temple, II. 13-22.

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.
22. Arrrives in Galilee, calls ſeveral diſciples, and performs miracles. IV. 12-24.	I. 14-21.

St. LUKE.	St. JOHN.
	19. Gives Nicodemus, who visits him by night, more complete information of his doctrine, II. 23.—III. 21.
	20. Remains in Judæa: additional testimony of John the Baptist concerning him, III. 22-36.
	21. Returns (after the imprisonment of John) through Samaria to Galilee: conversation with the woman of Samaria: many Samaritans believe in him, IV. 1-42.
IV. 13, 14.	IV. 43, 44.
	23. Remarkable addition of a second miracle at Cana, by which the absent son of a man of rank is at once restored to health, IV. 45-54.

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.
25—30. Hiſtory of a ſingle day, and that a Sabbath.	
	25. Chriſt teaches in the ſynagogue at Capernaum, and heals a demoniac, I. 21-28. 26. Chriſt aſcends a mountain, paſſes the night in prayer, and then chooſes his apoſtles, III. 13-19.
27. Chriſt delivers a diſcourſe, in which he condemns the morality of the Phariſees, and oppoſes to it a better morality, which he commiſſions his apoſtles to teach, IV. 25. V. VI. VII.	
28. Cleanſes a leper, VIII. 1-4.	I. 40-45.
29. Heals the ſervant of a centurion, VIII. 5-13.	

ST. LUKE.	ST. JOHN.
24. Chriſt teaches in the ſynagogue at Nazareth, IV. 15-30 *.	

25—32. Hiſtory of a ſingle day, and that a Sabbath.

IV. 31-37.	
VI. 12-16.	
VI. 17-49.	
V. 12-16.	
VII. 1-10.	

* In point of chronology, this does not belong to the preſent place, not even according to St. Luke: but I place it here, becauſe St. Luke has introduced it immediately after the preceding hiſtory. Perhaps it belongs to No. 50, though I have not placed it there, becauſe it does not exactly agree with the accounts quoted in that article from St. Matthew and St. Mark.

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.
30. Reſtores Peter's mother in law, and, after the ſabbath was ended, ſeveral other ſick perſons, VIII. 14-17.	I. 29-34.

The day immediately following the preceding Sabbath.

	31. Chriſt departs from Capernaum, I. 35-39.

33—37. Another hiſtory of a ſingle day, which was likewiſe a Sabbath.

33. Chriſt defends his diſciples, who plucked ears of corn on the ſabbath, XII. 1-8.	II. 23-28.
34. Cures a withered hand, XII. 9-21.	III. 1-12.
35. Drives out a devil, and is accuſed of doing it by the aſſiſtance of Beelzebub, the prince of the devils. His anſwer, XII. 22-50.	III. 20-35.

St. LUKE.	St. JOHN.
IV. 38-41.	

The day immediately following the preceding Sabbath.

IV. 42-44.	
32[a]. Restores to life the young man at Nain, VII. 11-17.	
32[b]. Peter's copious draft of fishes; of which no traces are discoverable with respect to the time when it happened, V. 1-11.	

33—37. Another history of a single day, which was likewise a Sabbath.

VI. 1-5.	
VI. 6-11.	
XI. 14-36. VIII. 19-21.	

St. MATTHEW.	St. MARK.
37. Preaches in parables, XIII. 1-53.	IV. 1-34.
38. Christ endeavours to retire from the multitude, and sails to the other side of the lake Gennesaret. Account of one, who offers himself to be a disciple of Christ, and of another who requests permission to remain with his father, till his death. VIII. 18-27.	IV. 35-41.
39. Drives out a devil, who calls himself Legion, VIII. 28-34.	V. 1-20.
40. Heals a lame man, IX. 1-8.	V. 21. II. 1-12.
41. Calls Matthew, and Levi: dines with taxgatherers, IX. 9-17.	II. 13-22.
42. Heals a woman afflicted with an hemorrage, and restores the daughter of Jairus, who was supposed to be dead, IX. 18-26	V. 23-43.

ST. LUKE.	ST. JOHN.
36. Dines with a Pharisee: converſation at table, XI. 37. XII. 12.	
VIII. 4-18.	
VIII. 22-25. IX. 57-62.	
VIII. 26-39.	
VIII. 40. V. 17-26.	
V. 27-39.	
VIII. 40-56.	

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.
43. Reſtores two blind men to ſight, IX. 27-31.	
44. Reſtores a dumb man to his ſpeech, IX. 32-34.	
45. Sends out his twelve Apoſtles, IX. 33.-XI. 1.	VI. 7-13.
46. Anſwers John, who inquires of him, whether he is the Meſſiah, XI. 2-19.	
47. Curſes the cities, in which he had performed the greateſt part of his miracles, XI. 20-30.	

ST. LUKE.	ST. JOHN.
IX. 1-6. and (but at a later period) the seventy disciples, X. 1-24*.	
VII. 18-35.	
48. Is anointed by a woman, who had led a sinful life, VII. 35-50.	
49. Account of those who ministered to Christ, on his travels, VIII. 1-3.	

* I place the sending out of the seventy disciples in the same article, with that of the twelve Apostles, merely because the two facts resemble each other, for we have no knowledge of the precise period, in which the former event happened. The Evangelists themselves have often adopted a similar plan.

St. MATTHEW.	St. MARK.
50. Chriſt comes to Nazareth, where he is diſreſpectfully treated, XIII. 54-58.	VI. 1-6.
51. Herod, who had beheaded John, is doubtful, what he ſhould believe of Chriſt, XIV. 1-13.	VI. 14-29.
53. Five thouſand men fed with five loaves and two fiſhes, XIV. 14 36.	VI. 30-56.
54. Diſcourſes on waſhing of hands, clean and unclean meats, and other Jewiſh doctrines, XV. 1-20.	VII. 1-23.
55. Chriſt heals the daughter of a Canaanite woman, XV. 21-28.	VII. 24-30.

ST. LUKE.	ST. JOHN.
Perhaps Ch. IV. 15-30; which I placed N°. 24, belongs to this article, and contains the same history, but differently related.	
IX. 7-9.	
	52. Account of several remarkable transactions and discourses at a great festival in Jerusalem, omitted by the other Evangelists, Ch. V. entire.
IX. 10-17.	VI. entire.

St. MATTHEW.	St. MARK.
56. Performs several miracles, XV. 29-31.	VII. 31-37.
57. Feeds four thousand men with seven loaves, and a few small fishes, XV. 32-39.	VIII. 1-10.
58. Answers those who require a sign from heaven, XVI. 1-4.	VIII. 1-13.
59. Commands his disciples to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which command they misunderstand, XVI. 5-12.	VIII. 14-21.
	60. Restores a blind man to sight, VIII. 22-26.
61. Asks his disciples whom they suppose him to be. Peter answers that he is the Messiah, which Jesus confirms, XVI. 13-20.	VII. 27-30.
62. Foretells his death on the cross, XVI. 21-28.	VIII. 31-IX. 1.
63. Is transfigured on a lofty mountain beyond the Jordan, XVII. 1-13.	IX. 2-13.

St. LUKE.	St. JOHN.
IX. 18-21.	
IX. 21-27.	
IX. 28-36.	

St. MATTHEW.	St. MARK.
64. Cures a lunatic, XVII. 14-21.	IX. 14-29.
65. Again foretells his approaching ſufferings, XVII. 22, 23.	IX. 30-32.
66. Pays the half ſhekel as tribute for the ſervice of the temple, XVII. 24-27.	
67. His diſcourſes occaſioned by the diſpute, who was the greateſt in the kingdom of heaven, XVIII. 1-20.	IX. 33-50.
68. Anſwers Peter's queſtion, how often we muſt forgive, XVIII. 21-35.	

St. LUKE.	St. JOHN.
IX. 37-42.	
IX. 43-45.	
IX. 46-50. XVII. 1-5.	

St. MATTHEW.	St. MARK.

ST. LUKE.	ST. JOHN.

69—83. Single ſcattered accounts recorded only by St. Luke, ſome of which belong to the three or four laſt months of the life of Chriſt, others to an earlier period, and which are not arranged according to the order of time.

69. Chriſt is refuſed the offices of hoſpitality by the Samaritans, IX. 51-56.

70. Anſwers the queſtion, Who is our neighbour? X. 25-37.

71. Viſits Martha a ſecond time: his diſcourſe relative to her too anxious preparations for table, X. 38-42.

72. Teaches his diſciples to pray, XI. 1-13.

73. Diſcourſes occaſioned by the requeſt which a perſon preſent had made to Chriſt, that he would command his brother to divide with him his inheritance, XII. 13-59.

74. Diſcourſes occaſioned by Pilate's having put to death ſeveral Galileans, and offered their blood in ſacrifice, XIII. 1-9.

St. MATTHEW.	St. MARK.

ST. LUKE.	ST. JOHN.
75. Chriſt cures on the ſabbath day an infirm woman, who was unable to walk upright, XIII. 10-22.	
76. Anſwers the queſtion, whether few or many will be ſaved, XIII. 23-30.	
77. Replies to thoſe, who deſire him to retire, becauſe Herod ſought to put him to death, XIII. 31-38.	
78. Dines with a Phariſee on the ſabbath day. His actions and diſcourſes on that occaſion, XIV. entire.	
79. Dines with publicans, and juſtifies his conduct to thoſe who cenſure him. Acceptation of the Gentiles, XV. entire.	
80. On this occaſion he inſtructs his diſciples in the true uſe of riches, and defends his doctrine againſt the Phariſees who ridicule it, XVI. entire.	
81. His diſcourſe on the extraordinary effects of faith, XVII. 5-11.	
82. Heals ten lepers, of whom the Samaritan alone returned thanks, XVII. 11-19.	

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.
84. Anſwers the queſtion relative to divorces, XIX. 1-12.	X. 1-12.
85. Takes little children into his arms and bleſſes them: and on this occaſion reproves his diſciples, XIX. 13-15.	X. 13-16.
86. Anſwers a rich young man, who aſked him how he ſhould obtain eternal life. Chriſt's important diſcourſe on this occaſion with his diſciples, XIX. 16-XX. 16.	X. 17-31.
87. Diſcourſes again on his approaching death, XX. 17-19.	X. 32-34.
88. The mother of the ſons of Zebedee requeſts for them the firſt rank in the kingdom of heaven. Chriſt's anſwer, XX. 20-28.	X. 35-40.

St. LUKE.	St. JOHN.
83. Answers the question, When the kingdom of God should come, XVII. 20-XVIII. 14.	
XVIII. 15-17.	
XVIII. 18-30.	
XVIII. 31-34.	

St. MATTHEW.	St. MARK.

ST. LUKE.	ST. JOHN.
89—92. Supplement of several events and discourses, omitted by the three first Evangelists, which took place especially at Jerusalem, and which belong to the period between N°. 53. and N°. 88.	
	89. Christ's actions and discourses at Jerusalem, at a feast of tabernacles, VII. 1-X. 21.
	90. Discourses at Jerusalem, at the festival of the dedication of the temple, X. 22-42.
	91. Christ raises Lazarus from the dead, XI. 1-52.
	92. Returns to Ephraim, XI. 54-57.
XVIII. 35-43.	
94. Visits Zaccheus, XIX. 1-10.	
95. Describes in a parable the Jews, who rejected him, XIX. 11-27.	

St. MATTHEW.	St. MARK.
96. Christ is anointed at Bethany by Mary: he defends this action against the unjust censure of his disciples, particularly of Judas Iscariot, who forms the resolution to betray him, XXVI. 6-13.	XIV. 3-9.
97. Christ's entry into Jerusalem, XXI. 1-11.	XI. 1-10.
98. He goes, as Lord, into the temple, and again drives out the sellers: he curses a fig tree, XXI. 12-22.	XI. 11-26.
99. Answers the question by what power he does this, XXI. 23-46.	XI. 27-XII. 12.
100. Parable of the neglected festival of a king, XXII. 1-14.	
101. Answer to the question relative to tribute-money, XXII. 15-21.	XII. 13-17.
102. Answers to the objection made by the Sadducees to the resurrection of the dead, XXII. 22-33.	XII. 18-27.

St. LUKE.	St. JOHN.
	XII. 1-10.
XIX. 28-44.	XII. 9-19.
XIX. 45-48.	
XX. 1-19.	
XX. 20-26.	
XX. 27-40.	

St. MATTHEW.	St. MARK.
103. Anſwer to the queſtion, Which is the great commandment of the law? XXII. 34-39.	XII. 28-34.
104. The queſtion propoſed, Whoſe ſon the Meſſiah is? XXII. 40-46.	XII. 35-38.
105. Diſcourſe againſt the Phariſees, XXIII. entire.	XII. 39, 40.
	106. Small alms offering of a widow commended, XII. 41-44.
107. Prophecy of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, XXIV. entire.	XIII. entire.
108. Addition to the preceding prophecy, found only in the Goſpel of St. Matthew, XXV. 1-30.	
109. Chriſt anſwers the queſtion relative to the laſt judgement, XXV. 30-46.	

St. LUKE.	St. JOHN.
XX. 41-43.	
XX. 44-47.	
XXI. 1-5.	
XXI. 6-38.	

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.
110. After the preceding discourses were ended, he again foretells his approaching death, XXVI. 2.	
113. Judas Iscariot promises to betray Christ, and receives thirty pieces of silver, XXVI. 3-5. 14.-16.	XIV. 10-11.
114. Preparation for the feast of the passover, XXVI. 17-19.	XIV. 12-16.

ST. LUKE.	ST. JOHN.
	111. Of the Greeks who wiſhed to ſee Jeſus: Chriſt's diſcourſe on this occaſion, and the anſwer from heaven, XII. 20-36.
	112. Diſcourſe on the infidelity of the Jews, after the performance of ſo many miracles, XII. 37-50.
XXII. 1-5.	
XXII. 6-13.	XIII. 1.
	115. Chriſt, before he eats the feaſt of the paſſover, waſhes the feet of his diſciples, XIII. 1-20.

St. MATTHEW.	St. MARK.
116. He ſits down to table, and ſpeaks of his betrayer, XXVI. 20-25.	XIV. 17 21.
118. Inſtitutes the Holy Supper, XXV. 26-29.	XIV. 22-25.
121. Chriſt goes into the garden of Gethſemane, and foretels to Peter, that he would deny him, XXVI. 30-35.	XIV. 26-31.

ST. LUKE.	ST. JOHN.
XXII. 14.	
117. Presents to his Apostles the cup of the passover: his discourse on that occasion, XXII. 15—18.	
XXII. 19, 20.	
119. After supper, he speaks again of his betrayer, XXII. 21-23.	XIII. 21-30.
120. Another dispute among the Apostles, who should be the greatest in the kingdom of God, XXII. 24-31.	
XXII. 32-39.	
	122. His discourse on the way, XIII. 31-XVII. 26.

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.
123. Prayer that the cup might be removed from him, XXVI. 36-46.	XIV. 32-42.
124. Chriſt is taken into cuſtody, XXVI. 47-56.	XIV. 43-52.
125. Brought before the Sanhedrim, and condemned: is denied by Peter, XXVI. 57-75.	XIV. 53-72.
126. Chriſt is led before Pilate. Judas hangs himſelf, XXVII. 1-10.	XV. 1.
127. Chriſt is accuſed before Pilate, XXVII. 11-23.	XV. 2-14.
128. Is condemned to death, XXVII. 24-31.	XV. 15-20.
129. And crucified, XXVII. 32-38.	XV. 21-28.
130. Is reviled on the croſs, XXVII. 39-49.	XV. 29-37.

St. LUKE.	St. JOHN.
XXII. 39-46.	
XXII. 47-53.	XVIII. 1-12.
XXII. 54-77.	XVIII. 13-28.
XXIII. 1.	
XXIII. 2-22.	XVIII. 29.-XIX. 12.
XXIII. 23-25.	XIX. 13-16.
XXIII. 26-35.	XIX. 17-25.
XXIII. 36-46.	

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.
132. Extraordinary events at the death of Christ, XXVII. 20-54.	XV. 38-41.
134. Burial of Christ, XXVII. 55-61.	XV. 42-47.
135. Appointment of a guard at his sepulchre, XXVII. 62-67.	
	136. The women purchase spices, to embalm the body of Christ*, XVI. 1.

* This account, which is given only by the two Evangelists, who were not eye-witnesses, is liable to some objections. See my History of the Resurrection.

St. LUKE.	St. JOHN.
	131. Supplement of several facts not recorded by the other Evangelists, XIX. 26-30.
XXIII. 47-49.	
	133. Christ, on examination of the crucified, is found to be already dead: and is moreover pierced in the side with a spear, XIX. 31-37.
XXIII. 50-56.	XIX. 38-42.
XXIII. 56.	

St. MATTHEW.	St. MARK.
137. Reſurrection of Chriſt, and the firſt accounts of it, which are brought by the women, XXVIII. 1-11.	XVI. 2-8.
	138. Further accounts of it brought by Mary Magdalene, who ſees Chriſt alone, and is commanded to report it to the Apoſtles, XVI. 9, 10, 11.
139. The guards bring the account to the chief prieſts, and are bribed to ſay that the diſciples had ſtolen the body, XXVIII. 11-15.	
	140. Chriſt ſhews himſelf alive to the two diſciciples, who were going to Emmaus, XVI. 12, 13.
	141. Chriſt ſhews himſelf to ten Apoſtles, and to ſeveral diſciples, who were with them, XVI. 14-18.

ST. LUKE.	ST. JOHN.
XXIV. 1-11.	XX. 1-10.
	XX. 11-18.
XXIV. 13-34.	
XXIV. 36-49.	XX. 19-23.

St. MATTHEW.	St. MARK.
144. Christ shews himself in Galilee to all his disciples, on a mountain, where Christ had appointed them, XXVIII. 16-20.	

ST. LUKE.	ST. JOHN.
	142. Eight days after, he ſhews himſelf to the eleven Apoſtles, Thomas likewiſe being then preſent, XX. 24-31.
	143. Chriſt ſhews himſelf to two diſciples and five Apoſtles, at the ſea of Tiberias. Remarkable diſcourſe with Peter and John, XXI. entire.

SECT. VIII.

Of two very actively employed ſabbaths in the Life of Chriſt, which are of importance in ſettling the harmony of the Goſpels.

TWO very actively employed days in the Life of Chriſt, and both of them ſabbath days, deſerve particular notice, becauſe they have occaſioned the greateſt difficulty in arranging the Goſpel hiſtory according to the order of time. If we attend to the expreſs determinations of time, which have been given by one or more of the Evangeliſts, and their accounts are perfectly accurate, we muſt conclude that the ſeveral facts arranged N°. 25—30, happened in *one* day: as alſo thoſe, which are arranged under N°. 33—37. To aſſiſt the memory, I will give names to thoſe days, and call the one *The day of the ſermon on the mount*[1], and the other *The day of the ſermon in parables*[2]. The events, which took place on theſe two days have been ſeparated, and recorded ſome in one place, ſome in another: an arrangement, which, though we cannot call it erroneous, as the Evangeliſts did not engage to write a journal, has influence on our determination of the period of ſome other events. It is however not impoſſible, that the actions of theſe two days, which are very ſimilar to each other, have been confounded, that what belongs to the one has been referred to the other, and conſequently that there is not only an apparent, but even a real contradiction in point of time, between St. Matthew and the other Evangeliſts.

I will firſt examine the day of the ſermon on the mount, N°. 25—30. Its hiſtory is briefly as follows. On the eve of a ſabbath day, when the ſabbath was juſt commenced, Jeſus goes into a ſynagogue at Capernaum, delivers a diſcourſe of the ſame import with that on the mount[3], and cures a demoniac: he then departs out of the city, and goes up into a mountain, where

where he paſſes the whole night in prayer; on the following morning he chooſes his Apoſtles, and delivers a diſcourſe called the ſermon on the mount, in which he teaches them the morality which they were to follow, a morality directly oppoſite to that of the Phariſees: he then enters again into Capernaum, cures a leper, the ſervant of a centurion, the mother in law of St. Peter, and when the ſun was ſet, and the ſabbath therefore ended, ſeveral other ſick perſons which were brought to him, and then leaves Capernaum. The reaſons, why I believe that all theſe events happened in the ſame day, are the following.

1. The cure of the demoniac, Mark i. 21—28. Luke iv. 31—37. and of St. Peter's mother in law, happened on the ſame day, as appears from Mark i. 29. Luke iv. 38.

2. The election of the twelve Apoſtles took place on the morning of that day, on which the ſermon on the mount was delivered. See Luke vi. 12—17.

3. That the ſermon on the mount recorded by St. Luke is no other than that recorded by St. Matthew, appears from the events which immediately follow it: Both Evangeliſts relate that Jeſus, after the ſermon was ended, went into Capernaum, and healed the ſervant of a centurion, a cure attended with ſuch remarkable circumſtances, that I can hardly ſuppoſe it to have happened twice, and that too in the ſame city.

4. The cure of the leper, according to St. Matthew's account, muſt have happened between the ſermon on the mount and the cure of the centurion's ſervant, when Jeſus was juſt returned into Capernaum. St. Mark and St. Luke relate this fact on a totally different occaſion, becauſe they were unacquainted with the time, and St. Luke even with the place[*], in which it happened. The whole account is too circumſtantial to admit the ſuppoſition, that the ſame cure, with all its concomitant circumſtances, took place more than once.

5. It

[*] Εγενετο εν τω ειναι αυτον εν μια των πολεων. Ch. v. 12.

5. It is evident from St. Matthew's relation, that the cure of St. Peter's mother in law happened on the ſame day, as the two juſt mentioned miracles*.

6. The circumſtance mentioned by all three Evangeliſts, that ſeveral ſick perſons were brought in the evening, and after ſun-ſet, to the houſe where Jeſus was, is a proof that the day in queſtion was a ſabbath day. For the Jews, on account of their over-ſtrict obſervance of the ſabbath, would not permit any cure to be exerciſed on that day: but as ſoon as the ſun was ſet, the ſabbath was ended, and then they could bring their ſick without ſcruple to the houſe where Jeſus was, and likewiſe St. Peter's mother in law could prepare for him a repaſt.

7. That Jeſus immediately afterwards left Capernaum, is evident from the accounts of all the three Evangeliſts.

The ſeveral events, which happened on this day, St. Luke, as appears from the preceding Table, has recorded in different places, becauſe he was unacquainted with the time, in which they really happened. We cannot therefore ſay that St. Luke was miſtaken, for he has left the time undetermined; yet his ſeparation of the ſeveral facts, which happened on the ſame day, is attended with this conſequence, that he has related one and the ſame fact, the departure of Chriſt from Capernaum, on two different occaſions, namely ch. iv. 42. after the cure of the ſick perſons, who were brought to him at the cloſe of the ſabbath, and again ch. vii. 11, after the cure of the centurion's ſervant.

But there is one circumſtance, in which the three Evangeliſts are ſo at variance, that they are hardly to be reconciled with each other. Whoever reads the account given by St. Matthew, ch. viii. 18—27. muſt conclude that Jeſus, on quitting Capernaum, immediately croſſed the ſea, where he calmed the tempeſt. It is true that ver. 18. contains no expreſs determination of time: yet every reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that it is connected with the preceding verſes, and that what

is

is related v. 18—27. immediately followed that which is recorded v. 16, 17. The two other Evangeliſts, on the contrary, relate that Jeſus, on quitting Capernaum, went, not to the ſea ſide, but into the towns and villages of Galilee: and according to St. Luke, ch. vii. 11. he entered on the following day into Nain, where he reſtored a young man to life. I own that the diſtance between the two cities[5] makes this laſt account rather improbable: and the words εν τῃ εξῃς, on which the ſuppoſition that Chriſt's entry into Nain was on the very next day, are at leaſt dubious, for many manuſcripts have εν τῳ εξῃς, that is, not on the day following, but on a time following. Before however I examine this difficulty, I muſt proceed to the other actively employed ſabbath.

This is the day of the ſermon in parables, a day replete with diſcourſes and events, and on which, as on the day of the ſermon on the mount, Chriſt at laſt withdraws himſelf from the preſſure of the multitude. The two firſt numbers, N°. 33, 34, follow each other in all three Evangeliſts: they fall likewiſe on a ſabbath, and on the ſame ſabbath, for they cannot poſſibly be ſeparated. The third number, N°. 35, St. Matthew unites by the word τοτε, ch. xii. 22. with the preceding N°. 34.; but the two other Evangeliſts, who were not eye-witneſſes, ſeparate it, and introduce it in another part, though without any determination of time. This however is the only portion of the hiſtory in queſtion, which could be ſeparated from the reſt, and referred to the next day, in which caſe N°. 33—37. would contain the hiſtory of two days[6].

To return to N°. 35. On the ſame day, on which Jeſus had caſt out a devil, and the thronging of the multitude had allowed him not ſufficient time to eat[7], a Phariſee invites him[7] to dinner[8]. But if Jeſus was ſo engaged on this day, that he had not had time to eat, we might almoſt conclude, that he was likewiſe buſily employed the evening before, a circumſtance favourable to

[7] Mark iii. 20. [8] Luke xi. 37.

to the opinion, that N°. 34, 35, 36, hang together [8]. Αριστηση I take in the literal ſenſe of the word, and underſtand it of dinner (at ten in the morning)[9], becauſe ſo many events afterwards happened on this very day. For not only the long diſcourſe recorded by St. Luke, ch. xi. xii., and the aſſembling of the multitude before the houſe ch. xii. 1., but likewiſe the ſermon in parables [10] N°. 37. certainly took place on the ſame day, that Jeſus had caſt out the devil, and had been ſought by his mother, for Matth. xiii. 1. begins with εν εκεινη τη ημερα. St. Mark likewiſe unites theſe events, though he has not ſo expreſsly determined the day.

The hiſtory of the day of the ſermon in parables is therefore the following. On Friday afternoon, when, according to the tenets of the Jews, the ſabbath commences, that is, as St. Luke expreſſes it, σαββατω δευτεροπρωτω [11], Jeſus goes with his diſciples from the country into the city of Capernaum: and the diſciples being hungry on the way, they pluck out ears of corn, which is cenſured by the Phariſees, but juſtified by Jeſus. When he was arrived at Capernaum, and the ſabbath day itſelf had actually commenced, or as St. Luke expreſſes it, ch. vi. 6. εν ετερω σαββατω [12] in oppoſition to σαββατω δευτεροπρωτω, he entered into the ſynagogue, where there was a man, whoſe right hand was withered. Here the ſcribes and Phariſees endeavoured to enſnare him, by propoſing to him the queſtion, whether it was lawful to perform cures on the ſabbath day: intending, if he anſwered in the negative, to accuſe him of being an impoſtor and unable to perform miracles without pre-concerted meaſures with the ſick, and, if he anſwered in the affirmative, to charge him with a violation of the ſabbath. Jeſus in a very extraordinary manner evaded their artifices, and reſtored the ſick man without any one's being able to accuſe him of a breach of the ſabbath. A dumb and blind demoniac is then brought to him, probably on the following morning, the ſabbath ſtill continuing; he cures the demoniac and is accuſed by ſome of the Phariſees of driving out devils by the

aſſiſtance

assistance of Beelzebub[13], while others require a sign from heaven, as a proof of the authority by which he acted. To each he gives a proper answer. In the mean time his mother and his brethren seek for him, with a design of conducting him home, as to a place of security, now because they supposed he stood in connection with evil spirits, but because they apprehended he had lost his understanding; but Jesus, who is surrounded by the multitude, instead of inviting them in, when informed that they stood without, replies, that 'whosoever does the will of his Father which is in heaven, is his brother, and sister, and mother.' A Pharisee invites him to dinner, and Jesus accepts the invitation: but a dispute arises at table, in consequence of Jesus having neglected to wash his hands. An innumerable multitude in the mean time assembles before the door, when Jesus delivers a discourse, related Luke xii. 1—12. He then goes from the house of the Pharisee to the lake of Genesaret, the multitude follows him: in order therefore to be better seen and heard, he enters into a ship, and preaches in parables: N°. 37. An explanation of these parables he gives at the request of his disciples, after he was returned home. Immediately after the sermon he crosses the lake of Genesaret. N°. 38.

As this sermon is recorded by St. Mark immediately before his account of the storm, which Jesus calmed, but is related by St. Matthew long after his description of the storm, it has been supposed by several harmonists that Jesus held this sermon twice. It is true that this supposition contains in itself nothing either incredible, or even improbable: yet I think that there are sufficient reasons for believing in the present instance, that both Evangelists mean one and the same sermon, delivered on one and the same day. For St. Matthew and St. Luke agree in the relation of several very particular circumstances immediately preceding it, and which I can hardly suppose to have happened twice; namely, the accusation that Jesus cured demoniacs by the assistance of Beelzebub, his reply to this accusation, and thirdly, his

his ſingular anſwer to thoſe who informed him that his mother and his brethren were in ſearch of him. Further, what is ſtill more deciſive, the diſciples would hardly have aſked Jeſus at two different times for an explanation of the parable of the ſeed ſown on different kinds of land: for when he had once given the explanation, there could be no neceſſity for aſking it a ſecond time. That they had forgotten it, and that Jeſus was obliged again to explain to them ſo eaſy a parable, is a ſuppoſition almoſt incredible: but, if we admit the fact, ſtill Jeſus would not have anſwered them, 'To you it is given to know the myſteries of the kingdom of God,' but on the contrary would have given them a reproof like the following. 'To you is not given to know the myſteries of the kingdom of God; for he who retains not that, which has been given, deſerves not to receive more.'

Whoever examines the preceding harmonic table of the Goſpels, will perceive, that on the two days, of which I have juſt examined the hiſtory, depends the arrangement of many facts, which happened either on or near to one of theſe two days, and which the Evangeliſts have related, one at one period, another at another. Now theſe two days might be very eaſily confounded, as they are in many reſpects ſimilar to each other: the ſcene of action is on both days in Capernaum, on both days Jeſus leaves the city in the evening, on both days he performs miracles and delivers diſcourſes, both are ſabbath days, and on each he is accuſed of a violation of the ſabbath. Two ſuch days as theſe might be very eaſily exchanged by any one, who had not kept a regular journal, and who wrote merely from memory. The queſtion to be aſked therefore is: Has any ſuch exchange taken place in the preſent inſtance? According to St. Mark, ch. iv. 35—41. and St. Luke, ch. viii. 22. Jeſus croſſed the ſea, when he was expoſed to a ſevere ſtorm, on the ſecond day[14]: but according to St. Matthew, the ſtorm happened on the day after the ſermon on the mount, when, according to St. Mark

and

and St. Luke, Jeſus went weſtward on the land ſide. Which of the Evangeliſts are we then to follow? We may abide by the relation of St. Mark and St. Luke, without neceſſarily ſuppoſing that St. Matthew was miſtaken, and therefore that he was not inſpired; for he has not poſitively determined the time, but ſays only, ch. viii. 18. 'When Jeſus ſaw great multitudes about him, he gave commandment to depart to the other ſide.' Yet on the other hand it is difficult, after having read ver. 14—17. to ſuppoſe on coming to ver. 18. that the writer could have any other intention, than to connect the ſubſequent with the preceding relation, and to deſcribe the paſſage acroſs the ſea, as having happened on the day after the ſermon on the mount [t]. Further, on the day after the ſermon in parables, St. Matthew makes no mention of any paſſage acroſs the ſea, but ſays only, ch. xiii. 53. 'That when Jeſus had finiſhed theſe parables he departed thence.'

The determination of the difficulties, which I have ſtated in this ſection, has very material influence on our arrangement of the facts recorded by the Evangeliſts, as many a harmoniſt has ſeverely felt, without being conſcious perhaps of the real cauſe, which produced the perplexity. Which of the Evangeliſts we ought to follow I am really unable to determine: for though St. Matthew has in general the advantage over St. Mark and St. Luke, in being eye-witneſs to the facts which he records, yet the preſent inſtance makes an exception. For St. Matthew by his own account [u] was not called from the receipt of cuſtom, and therefore was not become an attendant on Jeſus, till after Jeſus was again returned to Capernaum. Nor is this a contradiction to the account given N°. 26. from which it appears that the twelve Apoſtles, among whom St. Matthew is mentioned by name, were choſen on the morning of that day, on which Jeſus held the ſermon on the mount. St. Matthew might have been nominated an Apoſtle, and yet not inſtantly abandon his occupation as receiver of

[u] Ch. ix. 1—9.

of tribute: the ſermon on the mount was delivered on a ſabbath day, on which the receivers of tribute were diſengaged, but on the following morning he returned to his duty at the houſe of cuſtom, whence Jeſus now invited him to be his conſtant attendant. Beſides, even an eye-witneſs, who relates from memory events, which happened ſeveral years before, may eaſily exchange two days, which are ſimilar to each other.—In this inſtance therefore I have followed St. Mark and St. Luke, becauſe they make a majority of evidence, and becauſe they have in fact determined the time [16]. A further examination of the two days, which I have conſidered in this ſection, would perhaps throw more light on what is called the Harmony of the Goſpels.

CHAP. III.

OF THE CAUSE, WHY ST. MATTHEW AND ST. MARK, AND ALSO ST. MARK AND ST. LUKE, HAVE IN SEVERAL INSTANCES A REMARKABLE VERBAL HARMONY, THOUGH THE ONE DID NOT COPY FROM THE WRITINGS OF THE OTHER.

I HAVE already obſerved that the three firſt Evangeliſts appear not to have read each other's writings, not even St. Mark the Goſpel of St. Matthew: of which the apparent contradictions, and, in reſpect to the Goſpels of St. Matthew and St. Mark in particular, their very great diſagreement in the arrangement of the recorded facts, afford ſufficient proof.

Yet, on the other hand, theſe three Evangeliſts agree ſometimes in the very ſame expreſſions, and in ſuch a manner as we ſeldom find in the writings of independent and unconnected hiſtorians. If this agreement was obſervable only in the Goſpels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, it might be explained on the commonly received opinion

opinion that St. Mark had read the Goſpel of St. Matthew. But when the ſame expreſſion, and that even a harſh Hebraiſm, is uſed likewiſe by St. Luke, who was able to write pure Greek, this agreement in words, which is ſometimes viſible even where there is an apparent contradiction in facts, muſt be owing to ſome other cauſe, which merits particular inveſtigation [1].

The following may ſerve as examples. Mark i. 4. Luke iii. 3. Κηρυσσων βαπτισμα μετανοιας εις αφεσιν αμαρτιων.—Matth. iii. 12. Luke iii. 17. Ου το πτυον εν τη χειρι αυτε, και διακαθαρειει την αλωνα αυτε, και συναξει τον σιτον (αυτε) εις την αποθηκην (αυτε), το δε αχυρον κατακαυσει πυρι ασβεστω. Here the harſh Hebraiſm ὁ εν τη χειρι αυτε is worthy of notice [2]. —Matth. iv. 5. Luke iv. 9. πτερυγιον, a very unuſual word, peculiar to the Egyptian Greek dialect, and of which no commentator has given an accurately philological explanation.—Mark v. 22. ii. 1-12. and Luke viii. 41. v. 17-26. are remarkable, not only for the ſimilarity of expreſſions uſed in theſe paſſages, but likewiſe for the ſeparation of two events, which in the Goſpel of St. Matthew are connected with each other [3].—Matth. vi. 11. Luke xi. 3. επιουσιος, a word, which, according to Origen [4], no Greek writer had ever uſed before the Evangeliſts. The agreement however in reſpect to επιουσιος may be explained on the ſuppoſition, that this word was already in uſe among the early Chriſtians in the Lord's Prayer, at the time when St. Matthew and St. Luke wrote their Goſpels.—Matth. viii. 2-4. Mark i. 40-45. Luke v. 12-16.—Matth. xvi. 24. Mark viii. 34. Luke ix. 23. In this laſt example it is remarkable that all the three Evangeliſts agree in uſing the Syriac phraſe οπισω μου ελθειν [5], inſtead of the common Greek word ακολουθειν [6]. —Mark xii. 41, 42. Luke xxi. 1, 2. γαζοφυλακιον and λεπτον, the former of which is taken by theſe two Evangeliſts in an unuſual ſenſe [7].—Mark xiv. 12-16. Luke xxi. 7-13.—Mark xiv. 54. Luke xxii. 56. προς το φως [8]. —Matth. xxviii. 1. Luke xxiii. 54. επιφωσκω, a harſh Syriaſm explained above, Vol. I. ch. iv. § 5.

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This remarkable verbal agreement I am unable to explain on any other than the following hypotheſis. Before the three firſt Goſpels were written; or at leaſt, before St. Matthew's Goſpel had been tranſlated into Greek, there exiſted ſeveral apocryphal Goſpels, to which St. Luke alludes in his preface, and of which it was his object to correct the inaccuracies. But when the accounts, which they contained, were accurate, St. Luke, as well as St. Mark and the tranſlator of St. Matthew, abided by the expreſſions, which they found, as they were regardleſs of the ornaments of ſtyle. It is likewiſe poſſible that St. Mark and St. Luke followed theſe early accounts in the arrangement of the recorded facts, and that hence aroſe the deviation from St. Matthew's order, which has occaſioned ſo much perplexity to the harmoniſts.

Another argument for the opinion that the Evangeliſts made uſe of written documents is, that St. Luke, who when left to himſelf was able to write good Greek, has ſometimes in his Goſpel ſuch harſh Hebraiſms, as he would hardly have uſed, unleſs he had drawn from written documents. I will mention a few examples, Ch. i. 49. αγιον το ονομα αυτȣ, if it is equivalent to ȣ αγιον το ονομα αυτȣ[9], is a harſh Hebraiſm.—Of ελεος, ver. 50. 54. 58. 72. I have already treated, Vol. I. ch. iv. ſect. 7.—Εποιησε κρατος, ver. 51. is exactly derived from the Hebrew עשה חיל[10], res magnas geſſit, vicit.—Μνησθηναι ελεȣς, ... τω Αβρααμ, ver. 54, 55. is the ſame Hebraiſm as we find in the Septuagint, Pſalm xcviii. 3. εμνησθη τȣ ελεȣς αυτȣ τω Ιακωβ, and Pſalm cxix. 49. μνησθητι τȣ λογȣ σȣ τω δȣλω σȣ.—v. 76. ωρο ὡροσωπȣ τȣ κυριȣ[11], and v. 79. σκια θανατȣ[12] are manifeſt Hebraiſms.—Ch. vii. 21. εθεραπευσε ωολλȣς απο—μαστιγων[x] is an harſh expreſſion, which no where occurs in the New Teſtament, except in the preſent inſtance, and at Mark iii. 10. v. 29. 34. Homer indeed, in deſcribing a diſorder

x Μαστιξ is the common literal tranſlation, in the Septuagint, of נגע[13].

order with which the Greeks were afflicted, ſays, they were laſhed with Jupiter's ſcourge [13]: but Homer had here the image of a ſcourge before his eyes, and wrote in allegory, whereas a writer who literally calls a diſeaſe a ſcourge, and uſes ſuch expreſſions as 'to be afflicted with a ſcourge,' 'to be cured of a ſcourge,' no longer thinks on the original meaning of μαστιξ. Pure Greek writers never applied the word in this manner.—Ch. ix. 51-53, προσωπον diſharmoniouſly occurs not leſs than three times, where a pure Greek writer would not have uſed it even once. In the ſecond inſtance, προ προσωπε αυτε is a common Hebraiſm [14]: in the ſecond and third inſtances, το προσωπον αυτε εστηριξε τε πορευεσθαι εις Ιερουσαλημ, and το προσωπον αυτε ην πορευομενον εις Ιερουσαλημ are leſs common Hebraiſms, of which we find examples in 2 Kings xii. 17. Jerem. xlii. 15. 2 Chron. xxxii. 26.—Luke xii. 8. ος αν ομολογησει εν εμοι, and ο υιος τε ανθρωπε ομολογησει εν αυτε, a Syriaſm, which I have already explained [15].—Luke xiii. 16. ιδε in the ſenſe of jam, is a Syriaſm borrowed from ܗܵܐ [16], of which I recollect no other inſtance in the whole New Teſtament [2].

[15] See Vol. I. ch. iv. ſect. 5.

[2] Unleſs Luke xiii. 7. is to be conſidered as another inſtance. In the Septuagint is an example at Deut. [18] viii. 4.

CHAP. IV.

OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL.

SECT. I.

Account of St. Matthew, and of the time when he wrote his Goſpel.

ST. MATTHEW is ſaid to have written his Goſpel before the other three Evangeliſts[a]. His name in Hebrew is מַתַּי contracted from מַתַּתְיָה, and not מַתִּתְיָה, which in Greek would be expreſſed by Ματθιας'. His profeſſion and call to the apoſtolic office he himſelf relates, ch. ix. 9.: and by his long attendance on Chriſt he was enabled to communicate accounts on which we can depend.

It has been the common opinion, and I acceded to it in the firſt edition of this Introduction, that St. Matthew was named likewiſe Levi, and that he was the

[a] I purpoſely let this ſentence remain doubtful, as I wrote it in the ſecond edition of this Introduction, at a time when the aſſertion that St. Matthew really compoſed his Goſpel before the other three Evangeliſts, which I made in the firſt edition, began to appear to me uncertain. Soon after the ſecond edition appeared, Dr. Büſching publiſhed his Harmony of the Four Goſpels, in which he aſſerted, p. 97, that St. Luke wrote before St. Matthew: and not obſerving that I had already begun to waver in my former opinion, requeſted me to favour him with my ſentiments in regard to his own. To this I anſwer that I am ſo far of his opinion at preſent, as to believe, that when St. Luke wrote his Goſpel, he knew nothing of a Goſpel written by St. Matthew, at leaſt not of a Greek Goſpel, ſuch as Theophilus could read: for Ch. i. 1—4. he ſpeaks of the Goſpels, which then exiſted, as Goſpels written by perſons, who were not eye-witneſſes, and whoſe accounts therefore ſtood in need of that correction which he gave them, by tracing up every relation to its firſt ſource. But as I believe that St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel in Hebrew, I am not certain that the original was not in exiſtence, when St. Luke wrote his Goſpel: I will only affirm that the tranſlation had not then been made. That St. Mark wrote later than St. Luke I have no doubt, of which I ſhall aſſign the reaſons hereafter.

the ſon of Alphæus, becauſe St. Mark, ch. ii. 14. relates the call of Levi, a receiver of tribute and ſon of Alphæus, and St. Luke, ch. v. 27. relates alſo the call of Levi, both with the ſame circumſtances, and nearly in the ſame words, as St. Matthew relates his own call. Grotius in one of his Notes to Matth. ix. contradicts this opinion: and Theodore Haſe has publiſhed in the fifth volume of the Bibliotheca Bremenſis a treatiſe entitled, Diſquiſitio de Levi a Chriſto ad apoſtolatum vocato, in which he has endeavoured to ſhew, that Levi, mentioned by St. Mark, is not St. Matthew, but the apoſtle Lebbeus. Heumann in his Expoſition of St. Mark's Goſpel has adopted the ſame ſentiments, and ſupported them by new arguments: Lardner on the contrary, in the third volume of his Supplements to the Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory, p. 317-323, has endeavoured to confute the opinion maintained by Theodore Haſe. After having weighed the arguments on both ſides, I am inclined to entertain the following opinion, which is a medium between both, and which Grotius himſelf adopted.

The accounts which are given by St. Matthew, ch. ix. 9. by St. Mark, ch. ii. 14. and by St. Luke, ch. v. 27. contain, as to the main point, a relation of one and the ſame tranſaction, as muſt be evident to every one who compares Matth. ix. 1-17. Mark ii. 1-22. Luke v. 17-39. and examines the whole connection[2]. But it is not therefore a neceſſary conſequence that St. Matthew and Levi were one and the ſame perſon, ſince it is at leaſt poſſible, that two receivers of tribute were called on the ſame day, and even from the ſame tribute-houſe[3]. One of them was St. Matthew; and, as it was of more importance to the readers of St. Matthew's Goſpel, to be informed of the call of it's author to the apoſtleſhip, than of the call of Levi, eſpecially if Levi was not called to be an apoſtle, it is eaſy to conceive the reaſon, why St. Matthew mentioned only his own call, and was ſilent in reſpect to that of Levi. St. Mark and St. Luke on the contrary, might with-

without impropriety be ſilent in reſpect to St. Matthew, and mention only the call of Levi, partly becauſe Levi, as being the ſon of Alphæus, was related to Chriſt[4], and perhaps through this relationſhip occaſioned the call likewiſe of St. Matthew; and partly, becauſe perhaps Levi was the principal, and St. Matthew only an inferior perſon at the tribute-houſe, a ſuppoſition, which is not improbable, as St. Mark expreſsly relates that the entertainment, which was given to Jeſus on this occaſion, was in the houſe of Levi, and St. Luke deſcribes alſo Levi as the maſter of the feaſt; whereas St. Matthew, after having related his own call, does not ſay that the entertainment was given in *his* houſe, but ſays only, 'as Jeſus ſat at meat in *the* houſe'[5].

My reaſons for believing that St. Matthew and Levi were different perſons, notwithſtanding both were taxgathers, and both were called at the ſame time, are the following.

1. In the catalogue of the twelve Apoſtles, St. Mark[b] and St. Luke[c] aſcribe to our Evangeliſt no other name than that of Matthew. Is it credible then, that in deſcribing his call to the apoſtleſhip, they ſhould both have agreed in naming him Levi, and have thus occaſioned an unneceſſary confuſion to the reader?[6]—The ſame argument operates likewiſe againſt the opinion, that Levi is the ſame perſon as Lebbæus.

2. The ſons of Alphæus, at leaſt of that Alphæus, with whom we are acquainted in the New Teſtament[7], were near relations of Jeſus, for their mother, whoſe name was likewiſe Mary, was ſiſter to Jeſus's mother. They were James, Joſes, Simon and Judas, and they are mentioned Matth. xiii. 55. and there called brethren of Chriſt[8]. One of them, namely James, is expreſsly called the ſon of Alphæus, Matth. x. 3. Mark iii. 18. Luke vi. 15.: and of their mother we find an account Matth. xxvii. 56. Mark xv. 40. If St. Matthew therefore was a ſon of the ſame Alphæus, he was a near relation of Jeſus[9]. But of this relationſhip we no where find

[b] Ch. iii. 18. [c] Ch. vi. 15.

find the ſmalleſt trace: and at the principal paſſage[d], where St. Matthew names the relations of Chriſt, he is ſilent in reſpect to himſelf[e].

But, though I believe that Levi and St. Matthew were not the ſame perſon, I ſhall not attempt to diſcover which of the twelve Apoſtles Levi really was. I ſee no neceſſity for ſuppoſing that Levi was an Apoſtle at all: at leaſt the command, which he received to follow Chriſt, does not neceſſarily imply that he was admitted into the number of the twelve, ſince Chriſt ſelected ſeventy diſciples, in addition to the twelve Apoſtles[11].

We know therefore very little of St. Matthew, before his call to the Apoſtleſhip, and are unacquainted even with the name of his father. The accounts, which are given of his death, are likewiſe attended with great uncertainty, and it is a matter of doubt, whether he died naturally, or ſuffered martyrdom[12]. But ſince we know for certain that he was an Apoſtle of Chriſt, this ſingle circumſtance is ſufficient to prove both the credibility and inſpiration of his Goſpel.

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[d] Ch. xiii. 55.

[e] To the preceding arguments I added, in the ſecond edition, the following. That St. Matthew was a ſon of Alphæus, and conſequently brother of St. James, is likewiſe improbable from the manner in which St. Matthew mentions himſelf in the liſt of the Apoſtles, ch. x. 3. He writes thus: Thomas, and Matthew the tax-gatherer; James the ſon of Alphæus, and Lebbæus ſurnamed Thaddæus.' Now if St. Matthew as well as St. James, had been a ſon of Alphæus, he would ſurely not have neglected to mention it: and he would have written, 'Matthew the tax-gatherer, ſon of Alphæus, James his brother, and,' &c.—This argument may be applied with not leſs force againſt the identity of Levi and Lebbæus. For if they had been one and the ſame perſon, St. Matthew would have written, 'James the ſon of Alphæus, and Lebbæus his brother, who was ſurnamed Thaddæus:' eſpecially as St. James and Thaddæus ſtand in the ſame pair, which is not the caſe with St. James and St. Matthew.

This objection I omit at preſent, becauſe Lebbæus was certainly brother of James, though it did not occur to me that he was ſo, when I made the objection. But I have thought proper to print it in a note, as a caution to others, leſt any one ſhould hit on the ſame argument, and ſuppoſe it to be valid[10].

The year likewiſe in which St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel, cannot be determined with certainty. Ancient teſtimonies contradict ancient teſtimonies on this ſubject. Theophylact and Euthymius, who lived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, contend that St. Matthew's Goſpel was written in the year of Chriſt 41[13], which makes it the moſt ancient of all the books of the New Teſtament. The ſame is aſſerted in moſt of the ſubſcriptions to this Goſpel, and likewiſe in a life of St. Matthew, written in Arabic[14]. Euſebius however, to whom appeal has been made in ſupport of this opinion, has not advanced it[15]. Nicephorus relates that it was written fifteen years after the aſcenſion, but Irenæus ſays that 'St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel, at the time, when St. Paul and St. Peter were preaching at Rome'[f], which according to ſome critics[g] was in the year 61, though it really muſt have been much later. For further information on this ſubject, I refer the reader to Lardner's Supplements to the Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory, Vol. I. p. 95. and following pages.

In a caſe therefore where our hiſtorical accounts are ſo contradictory, it is the ſafeſt method to make no poſitive affirmation whatſoever. Arguments a priori can never decide on a queſtion, which merely relates to a matter of fact: and after the reaſons, which have been aſſigned by Maſch[h], and Lardner, we are left in the ſame ſtate of uncertainty, as before. Both of theſe writers delivered their opinions independently of each other[i], and the latter endeavours to prove by arguments a priori, that St. Matthew's Goſpel was written above thirty years after the aſcenſion, whereas the former has attempted to ſhew by a ſimilar mode of reaſoning, that it was written at a much earlier period. Dr. Maſch contends,

[f] Adv. Hæreſ. Lib. III. Cap. I.

[g] See Mill. Prol. § 61—64.

[h] In his Eſſay on the Original Language of St. Matthew's Goſpel, § 2.

[i] The one publiſhed in 1755 the other in 1756.

contends, 'it is probable that the Apostles soon provided for an authentic history of Christ's transactions; because many years did not elapse before they separated to preach the Gospel in various parts of the world,' and he adds 'that a measure so necessary for the conversion of unbelievers, and for the support of believers, could hardly admit a delay of thirty years.' But to this argument we may reply, that as long as the verbal preaching of the Apostles lasted, written accounts were not altogether necessary: and Masch himself is of opinion that seven or eight years elapsed after the ascension without any written Gospel. The same arguments then, which are used to vindicate Divine Providence, in permitting seven or eight years to elapse, notwithstanding so many converts were made on the day of Pentecost, who lived at a distance from Palestine, and seemed therefore to stand in need of written documents, are applicable to a period of thirty years, or to the whole period, during which the Apostles continued to teach verbally.—Dr. Lardner, who by arguing a priori as well as Dr. Masch, deduced a very different conclusion, says in the Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. p. 116. 'The life of Jesus could not be forgotten in thirty or forty years.' And he presently after adds, 'If about thirty years after our Lord's ascension, his history was written by eye-witnesses or their companions, it was soon enough: yea, it was the fittest time of all. At the year sixty of our Lord's nativity, according to the vulgar æra, and later, there certainly were enough such persons, as those just mentioned, still living, to record his words and works, and more, who were willing and desirous to read written histories of him, than before: and also more to transcribe and copy out of those histories for their own use, and for the use and benefit of others, than in any preceding time.' Now though I admit with Lardner that the year 60 would not have been too late, yet I would not therefore infer that St. Matthew's Gospel was not written sooner. for even had it been written within a year after Christ's

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aſcenſion, it could hardly be ſaid, that its compoſition was premature.

Equally indeciſive are the internal marks, which Lardner ſuppoſed he had diſcovered in the Goſpel of St. Matthew, and from which he argued that it could not have been written till after the year 60. Now I have no objections to make againſt any attempt to determine the date of a publication from its internal marks: but in St. Matthew's Goſpel I am unable to diſcover any ſuch marks, as could lead to a concluſion in reſpect to the year, when it was written. Lardner indeed ſuppoſes that this Goſpel diſcovers ſo complete an inſight into the doctrine of the call of the Gentiles, and the abolition of the Levitical law, as the Apoſtles, he ſays, did not poſſeſs, ſtill many years after the death of Chriſt [17]: whence he concludes that it muſt have been written many years after that event. But I cannot ſuppoſe, that the Apoſtles, after that they had received the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, ſtill retained their Jewiſh prejudices, and moreover retained them in ſuch a manner, as to be unable at any time to give a true and faithful account of Chriſt's doctrines, ſince they wrote under the immediate influence of the Deity. It is true that the Apoſtles did not inſiſt on the abolition of the Levitical law in Paleſtine, for this doctrine belonged properly to other countries, and God permitted thoſe who had been educated in the Levitical law, ſtill to retain it: yet it does not neceſſarily follow that the Apoſtles believed it ſtill continued to have the force of a divine obligation. In the preſence of the Jews they avoided a doctrine, which was not intended for them, and which could not have failed to have given them offence. Again, the Apoſtles, it is true, during ſeveral years did not go abroad, to preach the Goſpel to the Gentiles. But ſhall we conclude therefore that they were prevented by Jewiſh prejudices from attempting the converſion of the Gentiles? The Phariſees themſelves, who compaſſed land and water to make a proſelyte, would hardly have gone ſo far, and they would

would only have inſiſted on circumciſion for the Gentile converts. That St. Peter was commanded in a viſion to preach the Goſpel to Cornelius, does not appear to me to imply that previous to that command St. Peter had conſidered it as unlawful: and it is probable that he had no other motive, than mere tenderneſs for the Jews, who were unwilling to receive into the church thoſe who had not been circumciſed, for abſtaining from all connection with the Gentiles, till he had been expreſsly informed, that the time was now arrived for the converſion alſo of thoſe, who had not been initiated in the law of Moſes. But even if we admit that St. Peter, before he had the viſion in the houſe of Cornelius, retained the national prejudice which the Jews in general had againſt the Heathens, we muſt ſtill aſcribe his conduct, not to an error of the underſtanding, but ſimply to a want of energy in the will.

Were it true, that the Apoſtles were not entirely free from ſuch erroneous notions, which however it would be difficult to reconcile with the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, yet St. Matthew, conſidered as a mere human hiſtorian, was ſurely able to give a true and faithful account of the doctrines which he had heard delivered by Chriſt. If they appeared to him extraordinary, and contrary to his former notions, he might have accompanied them with a comment expreſſive of his former prejudices: yet theſe prejudices would not have rendered his memory ſo weak, as to be unable to retain the doctrines, which he had actually heard, nor his hand ſo untrue, as to be unable to record them. The firſt example which Lardner has produced is from Matth. xxviii. 19. 'Go ye, and teach all nations.' But as this command was given by Chriſt before his aſcenſion, and not invented by St. Matthew thirty years afterwards, I can ſee no reaſon why St. Matthew could not have recorded it, ſeven years, or even ſeven days, after it was delivered, as eaſily as at a later period. If he underſtood not the call of the Gentiles in its full extent, he might have thought within himſelf, that they

ought at the ſame time to be circumciſed: yet his own private opinion would not have prevented him from delivering, as an honeſt man, the command of Chriſt, in the form, in which he had received it.'

I have hitherto repreſented Lardner's internal marks of time in the moſt advantageous light. But his other examples have really leſs weight than that, which I have juſt examined. For inſtance, 'If he had not known that our Saviour was deſigned to be, or was already become a bleſſing to the Gentiles, he would ſcarcely have thought of inſerting the hiſtory of the Magi coming from the Eaſt to Jeruſalem.' A ſtill more extraordinary argument he derives from the conſecration of the Euchariſt, 'This is my blood of the New Teſtament, which is given for many, *that is, for all men.*' Internal marks of this deſcription Lardner has enumerated to the amount of fourteen, not one of which is of any real value[18]: yet, though his arguments are weak, the propoſition itſelf, namely, that St. Matthew did not write his Goſpel before the year 60, is probably true, and I adopt it on the authority of Irenæus.

One difficulty however attends the teſtimony of Irenæus on this ſubject. In a preceding paragraph of this ſection, where I quoted the words of this Greek father, I conſidered them as applying to the time, when St. Paul was priſoner for the firſt time in Rome, of which we read an account in the twenty-eighth chapter of the Acts of the Apoſtles[19]. But at that time St. Peter does not appear to have been in Rome: and as Irenæus expreſsly ſays, that the Goſpel of St. Matthew was written, 'while St. Peter and St. Paul were preaching in Rome, and laying the foundation of the church in that city[k],' Lardner underſtands St. Paul's ſecond impriſonment in Rome, which ended with his martyrdom. According

[k] The Greek words of Irenæus, quoted by Euſebius, (Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. V. cap. 8.) are τῳ Πετρῳ καὶ τῳ Παυλῳ ἐν Ρωμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

According to this explanation, St. Matthew's Goſpel was written, not in the year 61, but in 64 or 65. On this ſubject more will be ſaid hereafter.

Before I deliver my own ſentiments, I muſt mention a fourth opinion, which is very different from either of the three already mentioned, and, though almoſt deſtitute of hiſtorical evidence[l], refers the compoſition of St. Matthew's Goſpel to a much earlier period. Tillemont[m] namely contends, that St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel in the third year after Chriſt's aſcenſion[21]. He argues thus: When St. Paul was at Jeruſalem in the fourth year after Chriſt's aſcenſion[22], he ſaw no one of the Apoſtles there, except St. Peter and St. James[n]; the other Apoſtles therefore, and conſequently St. Matthew, muſt have already left Jeruſalem. But St. Matthew is ſaid to have written his Goſpel at Jeruſalem[23]: hence it follows, that he wrote it before St. Paul's arrival. Now this induction is wholly inſufficient for the eſtabliſhment of an hiſtorical fact, as it is not only unſupported by, but even contrary to the teſtimony of ancient writers. The words of St. Paul, 'I went to Jeruſalem to ſee Peter, but other of the Apoſtles ſaw I none, except James,' in fact imply that there were other Apoſtles at that time in Jeruſalem[24], with whom St. Paul made no acquaintance, becauſe he was not come to learn the Goſpel from the Apoſtles, but had learnt it by immediate inſpiration from the Deity. The object of St. Paul in the firſt chapter of the Epiſtle to the Galatians, is to ſhew how little connection he had with the

[l] I purpoſely uſe the expreſſion '*almoſt* deſtitute of hiſtorical evidence,' becauſe Coſmas of Alexandria might be quoted in ſupport of Tillemont's opinion: for, according to Coſmas, St. Matthew's Goſpel was written at the time of the diſperſion of the Chriſtians after the death of Stephen[20]. But a writer of the ſixth century can no more be conſidered as evidence for an hiſtorical fact in the firſt century, than Tillemont himſelf.

[m] Memoires, Tom. I.

[n] Gal. i. 18, 19.

the Apoſtles, and that his knowledge was not derived from them: his account therefore, that he ſaw only St. Peter and St. James at Jeruſalem, can never warrant the inference that all the other Apoſtles had left it.

To the preceding opinion may now be added a fifth, in which however no particular year is determined for the compoſition of St. Matthew's Goſpel. Dr. Storr in his treatiſe 'On the Deſign of the Evangelical Hiſtory and Epiſtles of St. John, § 62.' contends that St. Matthew wrote later than St. Mark, and derived from him a conſiderable part of his materials. But Storr's arguments have not rendered this opinion even probable.

Having related the ſentiments of others, I will now briefly ſtate my own. Though I cannot pretend to determine with any certainty, I acknowledge that the relation of Irenæus appears to me the moſt probable: not only becauſe Irenæus is the moſt ancient writer on this ſubject, but likewiſe for other reaſons. St. Luke, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter, could not well have ſeen the Goſpel of St. Matthew before he wrote his own; or, he would have avoided every apparent contradiction to an eye-witneſs, and moreover would not have arranged his facts in a manner ſo very different from that of St. Matthew. But if St. Matthew's Goſpel was written ſeveral years before that of St. Luke, it could hardly have been unknown to this Evangeliſt, eſpecially as he had been in Jeruſalem, and even wrote his Goſpel, as I ſhall endeavour to ſhew hereafter, during St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæſarea. Beſides, when an ancient father aſſigns a date to the publication of a book, we have rather reaſon to ſuſpect, that he has made it too ancient, than that he has made it too modern.

Dr. Maſch, in his treatiſe on the original language of St. Matthew's Goſpel, § 2. prefers to the teſtimony of Irenæus the accounts of Theophylact and Euthymius, who lived near a thouſand years later. He ſays, that Irenæus, in the very place, when he ſpeaks of the time when

when St. Matthew's Goſpel was written, has made two evident miſtakes: firſt, in ſaying that St. Mark wrote his Goſpel after the death of St. Peter and St. Paul, though it is certain that St. Mark ſuffered martyrdom before them: and ſecondly, in deſcribing St. Peter and St. Paul as preaching both of them at the ſame time in Rome, which is not true. The falſity of theſe accounts therefore, Dr. Maſch contends, deſtroys the credibility of Irenæus as to the remaining part of the ſtory.

I ſhall not enter into the inquiry at preſent, whether Irenæus was miſtaken in regard to theſe two poſitions, as I ſhall examine them hereafter. On the firſt, I ſhall acknowledge that Irenæus really was miſtaken, though I ſhall not undertake to determine in what year St. Mark ſuffered martyrdom, as it is uncertain whether he ſuffered martyrdom at all. But the ſecond poſition I cannot conſider as neceſſarily erroneous: for though St. Peter could not have been at Rome when St. Paul came thither a priſoner from Jeruſalem, yet I can ſee no ground for the aſſertion, that they were not afterwards together in Rome, and ſuffered martyrdom there. Though I ſhall not enter into this controverſy, which belongs to the province of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, yet I muſt obſerve, that if the teſtimony of a writer, who lived near the time, when the facts which he has recorded, are ſaid to have happened, is for this reaſon to be rejected, that he has introduced into his narrative ſome inaccurate circumſtances, there will remain but a ſmall portion of hiſtory, in which we can confide. We know by experience what happens to ourſelves, when we relate a ſtory, which we have heard from others. Error very frequently mixes itſelf with the truth. In the examination of the ſtory, the miſtakes are rejected, as ſoon as they are diſcovered to be ſuch, and that, which is true, is ſeparated from that which is falſe: and, ſince we ſhould act unjuſtly, if we diſcarded the whole, becauſe a part is inaccurate, we muſt give credit to the remainder, till that alſo can be ſhewn to be equally ungrounded.

Further,

Further, Dr. Maſch contends, what I believe every one will readily grant, that ſeveral accounts of the life of Chriſt had been drawn up, before St. Luke wrote his Goſpel. But the inference which he thence deduces, I cannot ſo readily admit. He ſays, the circumſtance, that ſo many perſons had then written an hiſtory of Chriſt's tranſactions, may be moſt eaſily explained on the hypotheſis, that St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel in the year 41: ſince in that caſe it is eaſy to conceive, that his example, and the commendations beſtowed on his Goſpel, might induce others, though they had no authority for that purpoſe, to engage in a ſimilar undertaking. But on the contrary, if we ſuppoſe that St. Matthew's Goſpel was not written before the year 61, it follows that the firſt accounts which are given of the life of Chriſt, were written by unauthorized perſons, which Dr. Maſch contends, Divine Providence would hardly have permitted. Hence he argues that the firſt Life of Chriſt was written by an Apoſtle.

Now this kind of reaſoning, in which we argue from what, according to our opinion, Divine Providence ought to have performed or neglected, has never afforded me the ſmalleſt conviction, when the queſtion ſimply related to what actually has or has not happened, even in caſes, where I have fancied, that I could clearly perceive, why one mode of proceeding would have been more beneficial than another. Our views are too confined, and we know too little of the whole chain of cauſes and effects, to determine what the wiſdom of the Deity ſhould ordain: we muſt believe, that whatever is ordained, is for the beſt, even though to our imperfect views it ſhould appear otherwiſe. The hiſtory of mankind can furniſh us with numberleſs examples, which we might ſuppoſe to be incompatible with the wiſdom and the juſtice of the Deity: we know that powerful combinations are frequently formed to violate and ſuppreſs the truth, and that even thoſe warriors, whoſe object is tyranny and rapine, are not ſeldom rewarded

warded by ſplendid victories. We do not call in queſtion the truth of ſuch combinations and victories, becauſe we cannot reconcile them with divine wiſdom: but, ſatisfied of the reality of the facts, we ſtill confide in the Deity, and truſt that the final event will not be unworthy the great Creator of all things. And as we argue in political hiſtory we argue likewiſe in eccleſiaſtical. The long hiſtory of heretics would be reduced to nothing, if we concluded, that God would never ſuffer what appears to us to be detrimental, and we ſhould be obliged to deny, that the very numerous abuſes, which prevailed in the Chriſtian Church before the Reformation, had ever exiſted. But the diſadvantages, which would ariſe from the circumſtance, that the firſt accounts of Chriſt's miniſtry, were not written by Apoſtles, is really not ſo great as Dr. Maſch ſuppoſes: The firſt *verbal* accounts which were communicated out of Paleſtine, were certainly not communicated by the Apoſtles: and if the firſt *written* accounts were not communicated by them, yet as long as they lived and taught, there was little danger to be apprehended from the erroneous relations of other writers. And, whatever inconveniencies might have followed, yet as ſoon as the four Evangeliſts had written their Goſpels, thoſe inconveniencies were removed. At leaſt the former erroneous accounts could then do no greater injury, than if they had been written many years afterwards: for the credibility of an hiſtorian depends on his character and circumſtances, not on the priority of his compoſition. And this is the reaſon, why our four Goſpels alone have deſcended to poſterity, while other narratives of Chriſt have almoſt totally vaniſhed.

I have no determined opinion on this ſubject, which I wiſh to ſupport in oppoſition to other critics. Though I am inclined to abide by the teſtimony of Irenæus, becauſe it is the moſt ancient which we have, I will not pretend to decide whether the words of Irenæus ſhould be ſo explained, as to denote the period when St. Paul was a priſoner in Rome for the firſt time, or the period of

of his ſecond impriſonment, when he ſuffered martyrdom with St. Peter. If we adopt the firſt explanation, we may be able perhaps to aſſign the motive, which induced St. Matthew to write his Goſpel. According to the accounts of eccleſiaſtical writers[o], it was written for the immediate uſe of the Hebrews, that is, of the Jewiſh converts to Chriſtianity. Now theſe Hebrews underwent a ſevere perſecution, during the time that St. Paul was priſoner at Rome: and this very perſecution occaſioned the well-known Epiſtle, which they received from St. Paul. What therefore could be more neceſſary, or more proper in that ſituation, than to furniſh them with an authentic narrative of the miracles, and particularly of the reſurrection of Chriſt? It is therefore not improbable that both St. Matthew's Goſpel and St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Hebrews were written with the ſame intent, *to confirm the faith of the Jewiſh converts to Chriſtianity, and to prevent a relapſe to Judaiſm.* This ſuppoſition agrees likewiſe with the account which is given by an anonymous writer of the ſeventh century, at the beginning of his 'Imperfect work on St. Matthew,' uſually aſcribed to Chryſoſtom[p].

On the other hand, if St. Matthew wrote a few years later, namely when St. Paul was priſoner for the ſecond time in Rome, we can more eaſily aſſign a reaſon for it's being unknown to St. Luke, when he wrote his Goſpel, for in that caſe St. Luke's Goſpel was written before St. Matthew's[25]. It is true that this ſuppoſition contradicts the commonly received opinion, that St. Matthew's is the moſt ancient, an opinion ſupported by no leſs authority than that of Origen[26]. To this

[o] Euſebii Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. III. cap. 24. 39. Lib. V. cap. 10. Irenæus adv. Hæreſ. Lib. III. cap. 1. Origenis Fragm. Tom. I. commentar. in Matthæum. Epiphanius adv. Hæreſ. XXX. ſect. 3. Dorothei Synopſis de vita prophetarum, in Biblioth. Patrum Maxima, Tom. I. p. 427.

[p] See Chryſoſt. Opera, Tom. VI. p. 11. ed. Paris.

this very ancient opinion it is ſuppoſed to be owing, that St. Matthew's Goſpel is generally placed firſt in the Greek manuſcripts; but this rule does not prevail univerſally, for there is a manuſcript at Vienna, in which the firſt place is allotted to the Goſpel of St. John, on account perhaps of the ſuperior dignity of its author.

SECT. II.

Attempt to reconcile the contradictory accounts, in reſpect to the time when St. Matthew's Goſpel was written.

THOUGH according to ſome writers the Goſpel of St. Matthew was written only eight years after the aſcenſion, but according to others at a much later period, we may reconcile this ſeeming contradiction, for it is poſſible that both of theſe accounts are true. If St. Matthew's Goſpel was written originally in Hebrew, and afterwards tranſlated into Greek, the former date may denote the time of the original compoſition, and the latter may relate to the year in which this Goſpel firſt appeared in Greek[f]. That this is the true ſtate of the caſe appears to me highly probable. For, on the one hand, much may be ſaid in favour of the account given by Irenæus, and on the other hand there is ſtrong internal evidence for the aſſertion, that it was written ſo early as eight years after the aſcenſion, that is, in the year 41 of the Chriſtian æra. In this year Herod Agrippa became king of Judæa and Samaria[g]. It may be aſked then, whether St. Matthew, if he had written after the year 41, would have ſaid, ch. ii. 1. 'When Jeſus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa in the days of Herod the king,' without diſtinguiſhing by ſome epithet the firſt and great king Herod, from the later king Herod? If ſo, St. Matthew's Goſpel muſt have been written

[g] Joſeph. Archæol. XIX. 5.

written either in the beginning of the year 41, or before that year, as Pearce has already obſerved in his Commentary on the Evangeliſts[3]. It is true that this argument applies immediately to the two firſt chapters only, on which a doubt is entertained whether they were written by St. Matthew. But if it proves that an addition to St. Matthew's Goſpel was not written after the year 41, it will follow of courſe that the Goſpel itſelf was not written later[4]. I can ſee therefore no impropriety in believing that both the early and the later date, aſſigned to St. Matthew's Goſpel, are conſiſtent with the truth: that it was originally written in Hebrew[5] in the beginning of the year 41, before Herod Agrippa was appointed king of Judæa, but that the Greek tranſlation of it was not made till 61, or later[6].

SECT. III.

Of the original language of St. Matthew's Goſpel. Introductory remarks to this inquiry.

I NOW come to a much controverted queſtion, in what language St. Matthew's Goſpel was originally written; whether in the Greek, which is now extant, as many modern writers contend, or in Hebrew, as all the ancient authors, who have expreſsly delivered their ſentiments on this ſubject, have affirmed. By Hebrew we are not to underſtand at preſent the language, in which the books of the Old Teſtament are for the moſt part written, but the Chaldee dialect, which was ſpoken

[5] On this account therefore it might have been unknown to St. Luke[5].

ſpoken at Jeruſalem in the time of the Apoſtles[s], and to which the ancient Fathers apply the name of Hebrew, as well as to the language ſpoken before the captivity.

I ſtill retain the opinion, which I advanced in the firſt edition of this Introduction, that we ought to abide by the teſtimony of the ancients, and to aſſume a Hebrew original for St. Matthew's Goſpel: though I acknowledge that this opinion has in ſome meaſure loſt of it's certainty, ſince the appearance of a publication which was directed againſt my defence of it[t]. This publication, which was written by Dr. Maſch, and printed at Halle in 1755, is entitled, 'Eſſay on the original language of St. Matthew's Goſpel'[u].

The opinion of modern writers of the Proteſtant church, is for the moſt part unfavourable to a Hebrew original. I purpoſely ſay of the Proteſtant church, becauſe the members of the church of Rome adhere in general to the opinion of the Fathers[x], eſpecially Richard Simon, to whom the criticiſm of the New Teſtament is highly indebted, and who has written a profoundly learned defence of a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Goſpel, in his Hiſtoire critique du Texte du N. T. ch. 5, 6. Maius, in his Examen hiſtoriæ criticæ, cap. 5, 6. and Schröder in his diſſertation De lingua Mathæi authentica, have contradicted Simon. Their objections I endeavoured to anſwer in the firſt edition; but at preſent I ſhall chiefly confine myſelf to Dr.

[s] That Chaldee was the common language ſpoken at Jeruſalem in the time of the Apoſtles, I have ſhewn in the Introduction to the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, which I have prefixed to the Commentary on that Epiſtle [1], § 11.

[t] This ſection I added in the ſecond edition, in conſequence of the publication to which I here allude: but a later and more minute examination of the paſſages in Origen and Euſebius, which Dr. Maſch had quoted in ſupport of a Greek original, has really confirmed me in my former opinion. I leave the ſentence however unaltered, that the reader may perceive, with what caution I have examined the queſtion.

Dr. Maſch's more complete work on this ſubject, becauſe an anſwer to his arguments will at the ſame time contain an anſwer to thoſe of his predeceſſors.

But even among the Proteſtants there are not wanting writers who have ably defended a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Goſpel: for inſtance, among the Lutherans, Conr. Horneius, George Calixtus, Ægid. Hunnius. J. Conr. Dannhauer, J. Meiſner, and even the Magdeburg Centuriators, who, if I miſtake not, are quoted to that purpoſe even in Schröder's diſſertation [4]. The late Schwartz, in his treatiſe, De ſolœciſmis diſcipulorum Jeſu antiquatis [5], p. 49, ſays very decidedly, 'Omnis antiquitas conſpirat in tribuenda ei hiſtoria Chriſti Syriaca. - Antiquitatis autem conſenſui pertinaciter et præfracte refragari temeritatis cujuſdam eſſe videtur et impudentiæ.' Among the members of the Calviniſt church, I will mention Rhenferd and Reland: and Maſch [6] has named ſeveral others, as well as members of the church of England [6], who have adopted the opinion, which he has endeavoured to confute. But as it is not my intention to write an hiſtory of the controverſy, I ſhall take no further notice of the authors who have defended my ſide of the queſtion: and thoſe which I have already mentioned I have introduced with no other view, than to ſhew that the opinion, which I defend, is not heretical.

In the Introduction, which I have prefixed to my Expoſition of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, the reader will find many obſervations, which are applicable to the preſent inquiry: particularly in the 19th and 20th ſections, where I have ſhewn that theological proofs, as they are called, which are grounded merely on certain poſitions laid down in the ſyſtems of dogmatic theology, are inadmiſſible in deciding a queſtion of hiſtory [7]. In fact ſuch proofs ought not to be called theological, for no poſition can be admitted as theological, unleſs it can be proved from the Bible: but that St. Matthew wrote in Greek is an article, for which we find no authority in

[6] Pag. 8, 9.

in the Bible, the question being purely historical, and having no relation to doctrinal Divinity, though it has material influence on the interpretation of St. Matthew's Gospel.

Equally indecisive are the arguments, which are drawn from the supposition, that a Greek original would have been more consistent with the wisdom of Providence, because the Greek language was more generally known. It is not for us to determine, what the Divine Wisdom ought to have ordained, but simply to examine what actually was ordained. Besides, in the present instance, the supposition of an Hebrew original is by no means inconsistent with Divine Wisdom. The Jews had been hitherto the peculiar people of God: in the very age, in which St. Matthew wrote, they had been distinguished by the presence of the Messiah among them; who preached to this nation alone, nor did the Apostles go forth to convert the Gentiles, till they had first preached the Gospel to the inhabitants of Judæa. The first Christian communities consisted of Jewish converts; and the language then spoken by the Jews, not only in Palestine, but on the borders of the Tigris and Euphrates, and probably in Persia and Arabia, was no other than Hebrew, or, as we more properly term it at present, Syro-Chaldee. Was it therefore unbecoming Divine Providence, that one Gospel out of the four should have been written in Hebrew, that the Eastern Jews might have a Gospel in their own language, as well as they, who lived in countries to the westward of Palestine, and understood only Greek? Was no care to be taken for the many thousands of Jewish Christians, who fled to Pella and the neighbouring cities? Were the Nazarenes, though this name became afterwards an heretical appellation, to be totally neglected? The answers, which Dr. Mascn has given to queries of this kind, though not delivered in the same words, the reader will find p. 143, 144, of his above quoted publication. He says, the Greek language was generally understood in Palestine, a position which I

ſhall examine in the ſequel: but however well it might be known in Paleſtine, it certainly was not underſtood by the Jews, who lived to the eaſtward of that country. To other objections drawn from arguments a priori, and from the ſuppoſition of what ought to have been performed, I ſhall make no reply, becauſe they are wholly foreign to a queſtion of hiſtorical fact.

SECT. IV.

Teſtimonies of the Ancients, relative to an Hebrew Original of St. Matthew's Goſpel.

AS our preſent queſtion is hiſtorical, the deciſion of it muſt principally depend on the teſtimony of ancient writers. It is true that, if we take the teſtimony in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, ſo as to denote the evidence of perſons who were contemporary with St. Matthew, we ſhall not be able to produce any on this ſubject. But, where eccleſiaſtical hiſtory fails us in the firſt century, we muſt be contented with the accounts, which come the neareſt to that period: and for the ſake of brevity, I muſt beg leave to uſe the terms 'witneſs' and 'teſtimony,' though the fact, for which I quote the authority of ancient writers, did not lie within their own actual experience. Maius indeed objects, that we ought not ſo much to examine what the ancients have reported, as whether they have reported the truth. But this objection is totally uſeleſs, for theſe reports alone can determine, what is the truth. On a point of doctrine the objection of Maius would be valid: for in ſuch a caſe the Fathers do not teſtify a fact, but ſimply deliver their opinion, which is no proof. Further, I admit that when the Fathers relate what is highly improbable, we are not obliged to give credit to their accounts: but the poſition 'St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel in Hebrew,' is ſurely not attended

with

with the ſmalleſt improbability. I ſhall proceed therefore to examine what the ancients have reported on this ſubject.

The firſt evidence for a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Goſpel, is Papias, who lived very near the time of the Apoſtles. His words are preſerved by Euſebius, towards the end of the thirty-ninth chapter of the third book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and are as follow: Ματθαιος μεν ουν Εβραιδι διαλεκτῳ τα λογια συνεγραψατο· ηρμηνευσε δ' αυτα ως ηδυνατο εκαστος. According to Papias then, not only was St. Matthew's Goſpel written in Hebrew, but there already exiſted in his time ſeveral Greek tranſlations of it, ſo that the tranſlation, which we have at preſent, is not the only one, which was made of the Hebrew original, though this alone, in conſequence of its ſuperior excellence, has deſcended to poſterity. Dr. Maſch indeed interprets the words ηρμηνευσε ως ηδυνατο εκαστος in a different manner[1]: but as this part of the evidence of Papias does not affect our preſent inquiry, I ſhall not enter into any controverſy about it.

The advocates for a Greek original have not only endeavoured to weaken the evidence of Papias in favour of a Hebrew original, but have endeavoured likewiſe to employ it in ſuch a manner as to weaken the teſtimony of other eccleſiaſtical writers on the ſame ſide of the queſtion. Papias, they ſay, was credulous and ſuperſtitious in the extreme, a believer in the Millennium, a writer who reported fabulous miracles, and who gave credit to every ſtory which he heard. A witneſs of this character, ſays Dr. Maſch, is not to be credited implicitly, and even in caſes, where it is poſſible that he ſpeaks the truth, he will find it difficult to procure belief. Thus the evidence of Papias, the oldeſt writer on this ſubject, being ſet aſide, the next ſtep is to render all later accounts ſuſpicious, by ſaying, that they are founded merely on the relation of Papias, and conſequently that they muſt be rejected, if Papias deſerves no credit. But that later writers had no other authority

for the aſſertion, that St. Matthew's Goſpel was written in Hebrew, is mere conjecture, for it is ſupported by no authority whatſoever: and whoever reads the account of Origen in particular muſt conclude, that he did not report what Papias only had aſſerted, but what had been handed down by tradition, and was the general belief in the time of Origen. To reject the teſtimony of every ancient author, on the bare ſuppoſition that their accounts were drawn only from the report of a credulous witneſs, is ſurely unjuſt.

But the ſuperſtition of Papias does not appear to me to be of ſuch a nature as to weaken his evidence to a plain fact, which is wholly unconnected with the marvellous: and his ſimplicity renders him in my opinion an important witneſs on this occaſion. His heterodox notions and chiliaſtic dreams, which he had in common with many of the Fathers, cannot affect his teſtimony, when he relates what is unconnected with ſuch opinions: and the force of the objection can apply only to his alledged credulity and weakneſs of underſtanding. How far he was weak and credulous we can judge only from the accounts of Euſebius, who read and quoted him: for the works of Papias themſelves are no longer extant. Now, though it is a rather arbitrary procedure, to make the character of a witneſs, of whom the Chriſtians of the ſecond and third centuries, eſpecially Irenæus, had a good opinion, depend on the judgment of a writer of the fourth century, even though that writer was a man of eminence, yet I have no objection in this inſtance to follow Euſebius, and will therefore quote his own words, that the matter may not appear worſe than it really is. They are as follow*; 'I have already related that the Apoſtle Philip lived with his daughters at Hierapolis, to which I muſt now add an account of a miracle, which Papias, who lived in the ſame period, ſays he heard from the daughters of Philip, namely, that a dead perſon was in their time reſtored to life. He mentions alſo another miracle, which happened

* Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. III. cap. 39.

happened to Justus surnamed Barnabas, who is said to have drunk poison, without receiving any injury.—This same writer has recorded many other things, which he had learnt from oral tradition, such as certain parables and doctrines of our Saviour, of which we find no account elsewhere, and also some things which are more fabulous. Among these I reckon the story, that after the resurrection of the dead, a temporal kingdom of Christ will be established on earth, and will last a thousand years. Such notions I suppose he acquired from a false interpretation of the figurative and mystical language of the Apostles: for, if we may judge from his writings, he appears to have had a very weak understanding.'

That this judgement of Eusebius is sufficient to destroy the credit of Papias, when he relates a simple fact unconnected with the marvellous, is more than I am able to discover. Through weakness of understanding he gives a too literal explanation of figurative language: but in the present instance we are not to inquire whether Papias expounded rightly, we have only to ask whether he related faithfully: and Eusebius himself, though he condemns his mode of interpretation, does not even doubt that certain accounts of the Apostles had been literally transmitted to him, on which he founded his interpretations. Eusebius therefore, who is the only ancient writer, who can be quoted to the disadvantage of Papias, denies only his ability as a commentator, and does not call in question his fidelity as a witness.

Another charge against Papias is, that in consequence of his credulity he has related fabulous miracles. But the examples, which Eusebius has produced in support of the charge, are in themselves neither absurd nor incredible: they are of the same kind as others, which are related in the Bible, and that Justus drank poison without injury is not inconsistent with the promises, which Christ had given to his Apostles. These miracles therefore bear no other mark of falsehood, than that

Papias alone has related them. But if we admit that they are falſe, does it follow, that a writer is to be rejected when he relates common facts, becauſe at other times he gave credit to the marvellous? We act not in this manner in reſpect to the writers of the middle ages; for though we reject their fabulous legends of the ſaints, to which through the ſuperſtition of the times they too eaſily gave credit, yet we receive their teſtimony as far as it relates to plain hiſtorical occurrences.

Thirdly, Papias is charged with weakneſs of underſtanding, and on this ground Dr. Maſch particularly reſts. He allows, that when a man is credulous, merely in conſequence of his ſuperſtition, his teſtimony is admiſſible in reſpect to facts, which do not ſavour of the marvellous: but, he aſſerts, that the evidence of a man, whoſe credulity ariſes from a natural weakneſs of underſtanding, is at all times to be ſuſpected. Yet in courts of juſtice, where the nature of evidence is well underſtood, this principle is never adopted. A weak man may hear as perfectly as a man of profound underſtanding, and if he is but honeſt, as Dr. Maſch himſelf acknowledges that Papius was, and had faithfully inquired of eye-witneſſes, or perſons contemporary with the fact in queſtion, we may ſurely admit his evidence in reſpect to what he had heard of thoſe perſons. Euſebius, from whoſe writings alone the arguments are borrowed, which are employed againſt Papias, does not infer from his ſimplicity that his accounts in general are falſe: but on the contrary, if we except the Millennium and ſome other marvellous ſtories, he quotes the relations of Papias, as matters well worthy of notice. According to Euſebius, the weakneſs of Papias conſiſted merely in a ſuperſtitious belief of miracles, and in his literal acceptation of figurative language: his credulity therefore was of the ſuperſtitious kind, which by Dr. Maſch's own acknowledgement does not render evidence inadmiſſible. For my own part I can never conſider a witneſs as ſuſpicious, merely becauſe he is deficient in underſtanding; on the contrary, his very

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ſimplicity would rather induce me to confide in the accuracy of his relation: for men of genius and lively imagination introduce frequently into their narratives their own ſentiments and actions, whereas they who are devoid of theſe endowments, report without ornament or addition what they have literally heard.

I have hitherto argued on the ſuppoſition that Papias was really as weak and as credulous, as Euſebius pretends: but if we may judge from the extracts which Euſebius has given from the writings of Papias, the charge will appear to be at leaſt doubtful. The two miracles which he has recorded, even though they ſhould not be true, are far from being ridiculous or abſurd, and if Papias received his information from the daughters of Philip, it was no impeachment of his underſtanding, that he believed them. And as to the parables and ſpeeches of Chriſt, which Papias declared he had received from oral tradition, though not contained in the Goſpels, Euſebius is ſo far from conſidering it as a mark of weakneſs that Papias committed them to writing, that on the contrary he appears to believe that Chriſt actually delivered what Papias reported. It is merely in the interpretation of theſe parables and ſpeeches, in which Euſebius diſcovers the weakneſs of Papias: and he condemns him only, for interpreting literally and not myſtically. Now here it muſt be particularly obſerved, that Euſebius was a determined admirer of Origen, the great father of allegory[a]: when he cenſures therefore a writer, who explained the Scriptures on different principles, we ought not to produce his cenſure as a proof, that this writer was deficient in underſtanding. Origen himſelf, eminent as he was, would appear to us, if we judged merely from his mode of interpreting Scripture, to be as weak as Papias appeared to Euſebius. Neither is Papias's belief in the Millennium a proof of the charge, which is brought againſt him: for this belief he had in common with many Fathers, whoſe underſtanding was never called in queſtion. And here again the diſciple

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of Origen appears to have been prejudiced againſt Papias, for no other reaſon, than becauſe Papias had entertained a notion, which had been diſcarded by his maſter. Origen had taken great pains to explode the doctrine of the Millennium; Papias was the moſt ancient writer in its defence, and his authority greatly contributed to its propagation. Euſebius therefore, a decided Origenian, endeavoured to deſtroy the credit of Papias, in order to remove one of the principal ſupports of the Millennium. That Euſebius was prejudiced, and that his predeceſſors thought better of Papias, appears from what he himſelf acknowledges: for immediately after the words above quoted, he adds, "Yet (that is, notwithſtanding the weakneſſes with which he had juſt charged him) he was the cauſe that moſt eccleſiaſtical writers after his time, appealing to Papias as to one of the earlieſt Fathers, have adopted the ſame opinion. This was the caſe with Irenæus, and with others who entertained ſimilar notions." It is therefore extremely doubtful, whether this ancient advocate of the Millennium was ſo deficient in underſtanding, as the adverſary of that opinion has repreſented him. On the other hand, if we admit that the repreſentation be juſt, we muſt not go further than Euſebius himſelf has done, and becauſe Papias was wanting in ſagacity, aſcribe to him likewiſe a want of fidelity.

So much for what Euſebius has ſaid againſt Papias: let us now attend to what he has ſaid in his favour. In the chapter from which the former quotation was made, Euſebius writes thus: "Papias informs us in the preface to his books, that he himſelf had neither ſeen nor heard the holy Apoſtles: but that he had learnt the Chriſtian faith from thoſe who knew the Apoſtles. His own words are, "I think proper to relate to thee what I have heard from the elders, and have well retained in my memory, and to add an explanation, in order to confirm the truth. I was never pleaſed, as moſt perſons are, with thoſe who relate much,

much, but with thoſe who relate what is true: not with thoſe who hand down foreign doctrines, but with thoſe who deliver the commands, which were intruſted to them by the Lord, and which come from the fountain of truth. Whenever I met with any who had been converſant with our elders[y], I carefully enquired into what the elders had ſaid: what Andrew, what Peter had ſaid: what Philip, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or any other diſciple of the Lord had ſaid: what Ariſtion and John the preſbyter had ſaid. For I was of opinion, that I could not learn ſo much from the reading of books, as from the verbal accounts of perſons then alive.—He relates that he himſelf had heard Ariſtion and John the preſbyter, and in his writings, where he delivers what he had heard from them, he frequently quotes them by name." Now a writer of this deſcription, who ſtudiouſly endeavoured to diſcover the truth, and for that purpoſe inquired diligently of perſons, who had been converſant with the Apoſtles, and among them with St. Matthew, whoſe name he mentions, may be as defective in underſtanding, as Euſebius or any any one pleaſes, yet, conſidered as an honeſt man, he is an important and irreproachable witneſs in the examination of the queſtion, in what language St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel.

The ſecond witneſs is Irenæus, who in his third book againſt Hereſies, Chap. I. ſays, "Matthew compoſed a Goſpel among the Hebrews in their own dialect[z]." Dr. Maſch admits that the words of Irenæus are clear, and that they admit of no other interpretation: the only objection therefore, which he makes is this, that Irenæus probably derived his intelligence from Papias, for whom he had great veneration. But if Irenæus, he adds, derived his intelligence from a perſon, who deſerved

[y] Papias here means the Apoſtles and their contemporaries.

[z] The Greek words of Irenæus, as quoted by Euſebius, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. V. cap. 8. are, Ο μεν δη Ματθαιος εν τοις Εβραιοις εν ιδιᾳ αυτων διαλεκτῳ και γραφην εξηνεγκεν Ευαγγελιου.

deſerved no credit, we can no more depend on the accounts of Irenæus, than on thoſe of Papias. Now this argument is founded on a mere ſuppoſition: for no one can prove, that Irenæus had no other authority than Papias for what he has aſſerted, or that any other accounts were then in circulation, which contradicted the aſſertion of Papias. Dr. Maſch indeed requires, that we ſhould bring a poſitive proof, that Irenæus did not borrow his information on this ſubject from Papias; ſince it is certain that he had ſeveral other erroneous notions, which he did derive from Papias: and till this proof has been given, he maintains that Irenæus, to ſay the leaſt of him, muſt be declared neutral. Now theſe erroneous notions relate to the Millennium, which many writers, both in ancient and in modern times, have believed, without forfeiting their credit as hiſtorians.

Next follows Pantænus, who was preſident of a ſchool in Alexandria, toward the end of the ſecond century, and is repreſented by Euſebius, as a man of great learning. It is true that not only the writings of Pantænus are loſt, but that no extracts from them are now on record. Strictly ſpeaking, therefore we cannot produce Pantænus as evidence for a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Goſpel. However it is related of Pantænus, that he travelled into India, to preach the doctrines of Chriſt, and that he found many who were already converts to Chriſtianity, in whoſe hands was the Hebrew Goſpel of St. Matthew. This information comes from Euſebius, who in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, B. V. ch. 10, writes of Pantænus as follows: "It is ſaid, that he diſplayed ſo much ardour for the Divine Word, that he went a preacher of the Goſpel to the nations of the Eaſt, and came as far as India. For there were at that time many preachers of the Word, who were animated with a divine zeal of imitating the Apoſtles by contributing to the enlargement of the Goſpel, and the eſtabliſhment of the Divine Word: of whom Pantænus was one, who is ſaid to have gone

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to the Indians. Here it is related that he found in the hands of several, who had already heard of Christ, the Gospel of St. Matthew; that St. Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, had preached to them, and delivered to them the Gospel of St. Matthew written in the Hebrew language, which was preserved among them to that day. Dr. Masch contends that this whole relation has so much the appearance of a fable, that Eusebius himself did not believe it, and that a man must be as credulous as Papias, if he did not doubt its truth. Perhaps the story appeared improbable to Dr. Masch in consequence of the word 'India,' which he took, according to its common acceptation, for the country between the Indus and the Ganges: though in fact, even if this sense be ascribed to it, the account is not incredible, for it appears from the very circumstantial Syriac accounts collected by Asseman, that the Christian religion was not only propagated, but flourished, in the East Indies at a very early age, and continued till the fourth century, after which period it was gradually extinguished. But the word India, in ecclesiastical history, is frequently used to denote the happy Arabia, as Tillemont has rightly observed in his Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclesiastique, under the article Bartholomew. At present the matter is more clear than it was in Tillemont's time. In Arabia Felix were two different kinds of inhabitants, which are mentioned by Moses in the tenth chapter of Genesis, namely, Cushites (from whom the Abyssinians derive their origin), and the descendants of Joktan: the former are called by the Syrians, as well as by the Hebrews, ܟܘܫܝܐ, that is, Cushites, the latter ܗܢܕܝ, that is, Indians*. Now that Pantænus preached the Gospel in Arabia Felix is by no means incredible, especially as Alexandria, the place of his residence, was at no great distance, and had a much greater commercial intercourse with that country, than it has at present. Further Arabia Felix, where many Jews resided,

* See on this subject Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. I. p. 359.

ſided, and where even kings had been converted to the Jewiſh religion, is a country where we might not unreaſonably expect to hear that a Hebrew Goſpel had exiſted, ſince the Apoſtle Bartholomew would hardly have brought a Greek Goſpel into a country, where the Greek language was not ſpoken. Nor is it improbable that this Hebrew Goſpel was ſtill extant in Arabia Felix at the end of the ſecond century, though in Paleſtine itſelf it did not ſo long continue to be in common uſe. That Euſebius did not ſay in poſitive terms, 'Pantænus travelled into India,' but only 'it is ſaid that Pantænus travelled into India,' is no proof that Euſebius himſelf gave no credit to the account; though I confeſs that the account is not ſo certain, as it would have been, if Euſebius had expreſſed himſelf more ſtrongly. If it be true, it not only affords a ſtrong argument for a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Goſpel, but furniſhes likewiſe an anſwer to the objection, that no eccleſiaſtical writer has ever pretended to have actually ſeen the Hebrew original. On the other hand if the relation given by Euſebius is a forgery, it proves at leaſt that it was the ancient opinion, that St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel in Hebrew, or the ſtory, that Pantænus ſaw it in that language, would not have been invented.

To the argument drawn by Dr. Maſch, from the circumſtance, that Jerom has related the ſtory of Pantænus with ſeveral additions to the account given by Euſebius, it is hardly neceſſary to make a reply: for political as well as eccleſiaſtical hiſtory would ſoon be reduced to a very narrow compaſs, if it were allowable to eraſe every fact, which different hiſtorians had differently related, or which through length of time had been augmented by an acceſſion of circumſtances not mentioned in the firſt account. To the objection that the Hebrew Goſpel ſeen by Pantænus was not neceſſarily the original of St. Matthew's Goſpel, ſince it might have been only a Hebrew tranſlation made by St. Bartholomew, I anſwer, that if the ancients had not ge-

nerally believed, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, the expreſſion 'Goſpel of St. Matthew written in the Hebrew language,' uſed by Euſebius and Jerom, would leave it undetermined whether they meant an original or a tranſlation: but ſince the ancients really did believe in a Hebrew original, I do not ſee how the words of Euſebius and Jerom can be underſtood of a tranſlation.

The fourth witneſs is Origen, whoſe evidence on this ſubject Euſebius has preſerved in the ſixth book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ch. xxv. As Dr. Maſch[b] contends, that Origen himſelf did not believe what he related in reſpect to the language of St. Matthew's Goſpel, and Schröder pretends, that Origen followed only the authority of Papias, and therefore is not to be conſidered as ſeparate evidence, I will quote the words of Euſebius and Origen, that the reader may judge for himſelf. 'In the firſt book of his Commentaries on the Goſpel of St. Matthew, Origen, obſerving the eccleſiaſtical canon, declares that he acknowledges only four Goſpels, expreſſing himſelf thus: "As I have learnt by tradition (ἐν παραδόσει μαθὼν) concerning the four Goſpels, which alone are received without diſpute by the church of God under heaven: the firſt was written by St. Matthew, once a tax-gatherer, afterwards an Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, who publiſhed it for the benefit of the Jewiſh converts, compoſed in the Hebrew language: the ſecond is that according to St. Mark, &c." The bare reading of this paſſage is ſufficient to enable the reader to judge, whether the two preceding objections have any foundation. If Origen had derived his information from the writings of Papias, he would hardly have ſaid, 'As I have learnt by tradition': and even if he had not uſed this expreſſion, it would hardly be credible that Origen, whoſe opinions, both in reſpect to the Millennium and in reſpect to the interpretation of Scripture, were diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of Papias,

[b] Pag. 184.

Papias, would have blindly followed him in the preſent inſtance, if the notion that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew had been confined to Papias alone. Beſides Origen declares that he had learnt by tradition, not only that the Goſpel in queſtion was written in Hebrew, but alſo that it was the firſt Goſpel, that it was compoſed for the benefit of the Jewiſh converts, and that its author was St. Matthew the Apoſtle. Did Origen learn all this from Papias only?

A ſimilar reply may be given to the objection of Dr. Maſch, who contends that Origen did not believe what he related, and that the expreſſion ἐν παραδόσει μαθών ſignifies nothing more than 'I have learnt by hearſay,' or, 'I have heard it reported.' But the term παράδοσις in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory ſignifies not merely report or hearſay, but a communication of accounts on which we may depend[5], of which the very example in queſtion affords a proof: for through the channel of παράδοσις Origen ſays that he had learnt, 'that the firſt of our four Goſpels was written by St. Matthew, who was once a tax-gatherer, and afterwards an Apoſtle of Chriſt,' which Dr. Maſch would certainly not conſider as an uncertain rumour. It is evident likewiſe that Euſebius took the word in a moſt reſpectable ſenſe; ſince he introduces the quotation from Origen, which begins with ὡς ἐν περάδοσει μαθών, by ſaying, that he acknowledged only four Goſpels, obſerving the eccleſiaſtical canon, (τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φυλαττῶν κανόνα).

The fifth witneſs is Euſebius himſelf, who has not only quoted all the preceding authorities for a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Goſpel, without even hinting that any objections could be made to them, but likewiſe in the place where he ſpeaks in his own perſon on this ſubject, and where we muſt of courſe expect that he delivers his own ſentiments. He writes, namely in the third book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ch. xxiv. as follows. 'Matthew having firſt preached to the Hebrews delivered to them, when he was preparing to depart to other countries, his Goſpel compoſed in their

native language [c].' This passage is so clear, that one might suppose it impossible to make any objection to it: yet Dr. Masch contends [d], that Eusebius himself did not give credit to what he has here related. 'As an ecclesiastical historian, says Dr. Masch, Eusebius was in duty bound to record the accounts which then existed, but was not obliged to deliver his own private opinion. It was not his intention to relate in his Ecclesiastical History such facts alone as were indisputably true, but to form a complete repository of all the accounts, of whatsoever kind, which had been related by others: because, according to the taste of those times, his readers were anxious to know a multitude of stories, but were totally indifferent as to critical inquiries.' So unfavourable a picture does Dr. Masch draw in the present instance of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History: yet in another place [e], where he quotes a passage from the writings of Eusebius, which he supposes to be favourable to his own opinion, he says: 'I consider the testimony of this meritorious writer, when united with that of Origen, as sufficiently important to be opposed to the assertions of all the other fathers put together.'—But how can it be proved that Eusebius in the passage above-quoted from his Ecclesiastical History, related a story which he himself disbelieved? Dr. Masch indeed has discovered in Eusebius's Exposition of the Psalms, from which by the help of an induction, which is liable however to many objections, he concludes that Eusebius himself believed that St. Matthew wrote in Greek: but this matter I shall particularly consider in the next section, and shall confine myself therefore at present to the passage with which we are immediately concerned. Now it must be observed, that Eusebius does not introduce his relation, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, with any such expression as, 'it is said,' or

[c] Πατρίῳ γλώττῃ ἐξέφη παραδὺς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον.

[d] Pag. 190—200. [e] Pag. 155.

or 'Papias and Origen relate'; but writes in poſitive terms, and in his own perſon, without appealing either directly or indirectly to any other author, ſo that we cannot poſſibly ſuppoſe him to have diſbelieved what he related, without directly charging him with an intentional violation of the truth. To the argument uſed by Dr. Maſch[f], that Euſebius could not have aſſerted that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, without entering into a long confutation of Papias, Irenæus, Origen, and other eccleſiaſtical writers, we may anſwer; that Euſebius has on many other occaſions accompanied his accounts with expreſſions of doubt and even abſolute denial, without entering into a prolix diſcuſſion of them. No reaſon can be aſſigned therefore why he ſhould not have accompanied his account, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, with ſome expreſſions at leaſt of doubt, if he diſbelieved what he reported. Further, this argument not only furniſhes a proof of the opinion, which it is intended to ſupport, but really operates againſt it. For if Euſebius ventured not in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory to aſſert that St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel in Greek, becauſe it was his buſineſs merely to record whatever accounts he could collect, and a contradiction of the aſſertion, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, would neceſſarily have involved him in a long confutation, it follows that there was only one voice on this ſubject, and that there were no accounts then exiſting, that St. Matthew wrote in Greek. For an hiſtorian, who makes it his buſineſs to furniſh his readers with whatever intelligence he can procure, would hardly in a caſe where the reports were contradictory to each other, neglect to mention that, which he believed to be the true one, and relate only that, which he believed to be falſe.

The other teſtimonies in favour of the opinion that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, I ſhall produce, without either quoting the words of the reſpective authors, or making

[f] Pag. 191.

making any further remarks[g]: partly because they are less liable to objection, and partly because they are less important than the preceding. In the third century we have the authority of Dorotheus: in the fourth century that of Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Gregory of Nazianzum, Chrysostom, and Jerom; of whom the last mentioned writer, on account of his learning and his residence in Palestine, deserves very particular attention. In the fifth century we have Augustin, though I admit that he is no great authority in the present inquiry: in the eleventh century Theophylact, and in the fourteenth Nicephorus Callisti; whom I should have omitted as too modern, if they afforded not a proof that so late as their time no contradictory account had forced itself into notice among the Greeks. Theophylact especially warrants this inference, for he was a very diligent and accurate interpreter of Scripture, and yet we find in his writings no trace whatsoever of a supposition that St. Matthew wrote in Greek. This learned bishop in the Preface to his Exposition of St. Matthew's Gospel, says 'Matthew first wrote a Gospel in the Hebrew language for the sake of the Hebrew believers, eight years after Christ's ascension: and John, as is reported, translated it from the Hebrew into Greek'[h]. The latter clause contains a report, which no writer before Theophylact, has ever mentioned, and is contradicted by Papias, who says that every one interpreted St. Matthew's Gospel as well as

[g] Whoever wishes for more information relative to these may consult either Schröder or Lardner.

[h] Ματθαιος πρωτος παντων εγραψε το ευαγγελιον εβραϊδι φωνη προς τους εξ εβραιων πεπιστευκοτας μετα οκτω ετη της του Χριστου αναληψεως· Μετεφρασε δε τουτο Ιωαννης απο της εβραιδος, ως λεγεται. Simon in his Hist. Crit. du Texte du N. T. p. 120. quotes from the Codex Regius 2871, a subscription of a similar import, namely, Το κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιον εβραϊδι διαλεκτω εγραφη εξεδοθη εν Ιερουσαλημ, ερμηνευθεν δε υπο Ιωαννου.

as he could, and by Jerom[1], who ſays, it is uncertain who made our tranſlation of it. St. John's peculiar ſtyle likewiſe is a ſufficient proof that he was not the tranſlator. The latter part therefore of Theophylact's account I acknowledge is falſe: but we muſt not therefore reject the former part. For he declares, in poſitive terms, and without any expreſſions of doubt, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew: but that St. John was the tranſlator, a ſtory probably invented in order to enhance the canonical authority of the Greek tranſlation, he mentions as a mere report, without vouching for its truth.

Though the ſubſcriptions to the books of the New Teſtament are of no great authority, becauſe their authors are unknown, and ſome of them are manifeſtly erroneous: yet, ſince many Greek manuſcripts contain ſubſcriptions to St. Matthew's Goſpel expreſſive of the opinion that he wrote in Hebrew, but none, as far as I recollect, expreſſive of the opinion that he wrote in Greek, this uniformity in the manuſcripts is not unworthy of notice. The ſubſcription in the Codex Regius 2871 I have already quoted: and it appears from Wetſtein's Prolegomena, p. 46, that the Codex Stephan. 16, at the end of St. Matthew's Goſpel, has εκ τϐ κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιϐ, εγραφη Εβραισι τη Παλαισινη μετα ετη η της αναληψεως. Wetſtein's Codex 80, numbered 136, in my catalogue, has Εγραφη εν Ιερουσαλημ Εβραιδι διαλεκτω: and a Roman MS. deſcribed in Blanchini Evangeliarium quadruplex, P. 1. p. 516. has εγραφη το κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιον εβραισι εις την Παλαισινην.

The Syriac and Arabic ſubſcriptions agree with the Greek. In the Syriac verſion, at the cloſe of St. Matthew's Goſpel, we find 'Here ends the holy Goſpel according to the preaching of Matthew, which he preached in Paleſtine, in the Hebrew language.' The word 'preaching' in the Syriac ſubſcriptions has the ſame

[1] Catal. Scriptorum Eccleſiaſticorum.

ſame ſenſe as 'writing,' as appears from the ſubſcriptions to the Goſpels of St. Mark and St. John. In the Arabic verſion, publiſhed by Erpenius, is the following ſubſcription to St. Matthew's Goſpel, which I quote in the original, becauſe the edition of Erpenius is ſcarce;

كمل نسخ بشاره متى الرسول وكان
كتبها بارض فلسطين بالهام روح القدس
عبرانيا بعد صعود ربنا يسوع المسيح
بالجسد الى السماء بثمان سنين فى اول
سنة من ملك اقلوديوس قيصر ملك الروم

'Here ends the copy of the Goſpel of the Apoſtle Matthew. He wrote it in the land of Paleſtine, by inſpiration of the Holy Spirit, in the Hebrew language, eight years after the bodily aſcenſion of Jeſus the Meſſiah into heaven, and in the firſt year of the Roman emperor Claudius Cæſar.' The ſame opinion was entertained, I believe univerſally, by the learned Syrians. At leaſt, the two moſt eminent Syrian writers, Barſalibæus and Gregorius Bar-Hebræus, who lived in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, aſſert in their Prefaces to the Evangeliſts, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew[k]: and Ebed Jeſu, metropolitan of Armenia, in the thirteenth century, ſays in his Catalogue of Syrian writers[l]: 'Matthew, who compoſed the firſt book of the New Teſtament, wrote in Paleſtine, in the Hebrew language.'

Before I conclude this ſection, I muſt take notice of an inaccuracy, of which I was guilty in the firſt edition of this Introduction, becauſe, if I left it unnoticed, others might fall into the ſame miſtake. I quoted, namely,

[k] See Aſſeman's ſecond note in his Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. P. i. p. 8.

namely, Hegeſippus, who lived in the latter half of the ſecond century, and before his converſion to Chriſtianity was of the Jewiſh religion. Now ſince the Jewiſh converts eſpecially may be ſuppoſed to have uſed a Hebrew Goſpel, the teſtimony of Hegeſippus would in this reſpect, as well as on account of its antiquity, be of very great importance in the preſent inquiry. But ſince Euſebius, from whom alone we can derive information on this ſubject, the works of Hegeſippus being no longer extant, has not quoted the words of this writer relative to a Hebrew Goſpel, but ſpeaks only in his own perſon, and uſes expreſſions, which are not deciſive, I admit that the account of Hegeſippus, in the form in which we have it, does not furniſh us with any certain information in regard to the language, in which St. Matthew wrote. The paſſage in queſtion is as follows[l]: εκ τε τε καθ Εβραιες ευαγγελιε, και τα Συριακα[m], και ιδιως εκ της Εβραιδος διαλεκτε τινα τιθησι, εμφαινων εξ Εβραιων εαυτου πεπιστευκεναι. Here Euſebius ſays, that Hegeſippus quoted from the Goſpel according to the Hebrews: but ſince he has not added that this Goſpel was the ſame as the Hebrew original of St. Matthew, this paſſage is indeciſive.

[l] Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. IV. cap. 22.

[m] This το Συριακον was probably the Syriac tranſlation of Tatian's Diateſſaron, on which Ephrem the Syrian wrote a commentary. See Aſſemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. P. i. p. 12, 13. and Beauſobre Hiſtoire des Manichéens, Tom. I. p. 304.

SECT.

SECT. V.

Examination of the queſtion, whether Origen and Euſebius in any part of their writings have argued, as if they ſuppoſed St. Matthew wrote in Greek.

IT appears from the preceding ſection that the teſtimony of the ancient writers, who have ſaid any thing expreſsly on this ſubject, is unanimous in favour of a Hebrew original. But Dr. Maſch has endeavoured to draw over Origen and Euſebius to his party by the aid of an induction from certain paſſages in their writings, which in his opinion imply a Greek original: whence he argues, that in the places, where Origen and Euſebius have related in poſitive terms that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, they have related what they themſelves did not believe. Before I examine the paſſages, which Dr. Maſch has ſelected for this purpoſe, I muſt beg leave to obſerve that, even if they imply what he ſuppoſes, they will not prove that Origen and Euſebius entertained the ſentiments which he aſcribes to them. Perhaps no author can be produced, who is ſo uniformly conſiſtent and ſyſtematical, as never to advance a ſentiment in one part of his writings, from which inferences may be deduced, that are at variance with what he has aſſerted elſewhere. We do not examine every ſentence which we write in its full extent, and in all its conſequences: and therefore as we do not always foreſee the uſe which may be made of what we have written, we may at one time indirectly contradict an opinion, which at another time we had directly affirmed. Suppoſe an author then thus circumſtanced, and that his real opinion was required. Ought it to be determined by the paſſage where the notion was only implied, or by the paſſage, where it was expreſsly declared? Origen ſays in expreſs terms that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew: Euſebius ſays the ſame, not only where he quotes from other writers, but where he

ſpeaks in his own perſon, and where he ſpeaks profeſſedly on the ſubject. Admitting then that two other paſſages can be produced, for inſtance from their commentaries on the Bible, in which the ſame authors have written in a manner which appears to be inconſiſtent with their former poſitive aſſertions, I aſk, whether their direct teſtimony is not to be preferred to that which they have given only by implication? I think no doubt can be made that it ought. Beſides, when a man aſſumes the character of an hiſtorian, he is more attentive to the facts, which he relates, than when he merely alludes to them in a commentary. This we know from our own experience: and every one who has paſſed through a regular courſe of divinity in any of our German univerſities may have had an opportunity of obſerving, that his profeſſor in reading lectures on exegetical or dogmatical theology, has been guilty of inaccuracies relative to dates and councils, which he would have avoided in reading lectures on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory.

Thus far I have argued, as if the paſſage produced by Dr. Maſch really contradicted thoſe, which I have quoted in the preceding ſection. I will now examine the paſſages themſelves, and ſee whether they warrant the concluſions, which have been drawn from them.

1. Origen in his Commentary on St. Matthew [n] rejects the words, 'Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf,' ch. xix. 19. and ſays: 'It is manifeſt, that there is a material difference in the manuſcripts [o], which has

[n] Pag. 381. of the Cologne edition, or Vol. III. p. 671 of the Benedictine edition.

[o] According to Dr. Maſch's repreſentation, p. 146. one might ſuppoſe that theſe words applied to Matth. xix. 19. and that Origen meant to ſay, there was a difference in the MSS. in reſpect to the words, 'Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf.' But as far as I underſtand Origen, this is not his meaning: he obſerves only in general terms, that many alterations had been made in the MSS. of St. Matthew's Goſpel; and from this general aſſertion endeavours to juſtify a critical conjecture at the place in queſtion.

has been occaſioned either by the negligence of tranſcribers, or by the audaciouſneſs of thoſe who have ventured to alter the ſcriptures, or by the liberties which have been taken in adding or eraſing, in order to improve the text.'[1] Now as Origen, ſays Dr. Maſch[2], was accuſtomed to correct the Greek verſions of the Old Teſtament by the aſſiſtance of the Hebrew, he would hardly have neglected in the preſent inſtance, where he doubted the genuineneſs of a paſſage in the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew, to have had likewiſe recourſe to the Hebrew original, as the ſureſt means of determining the queſtion, if a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Goſpel had exiſted.—This is the objection: I will now proceed to the anſwer.

That Origen did not appeal to a Hebrew original, in order to determine the authenticity of doubtful paſſages in the Greek Goſpel, I readily admit: but I cannot conſider this neglect as a proof, that no Hebrew original exiſted. Dr. Maſch indeed aſſerts, p. 147, that Origen had read, and occaſionally quoted a Hebrew Goſpel, which was reported to be that of St. Matthew: but as I know not on what authority this aſſertion is made, I cannot enter into a diſcuſſion of it[3]. If Origen was in poſſeſſion of the Hebrew Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes, we are not certain that he conſidered *this* Goſpel as the ſame with the Hebrew Goſpel of St. Matthew: and therefore his neglect to appeal to it in the caſe in queſtion will prove nothing[p]. But ſuppoſe Origen really believed that a Hebrew Goſpel in his poſſeſſion was St. Matthew's original: yet an appeal

[p] Jerom not only had read the Hebrew Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes, but tranſlated it into Latin, and moreover was inclined to believe that it was the original of St. Matthew's Goſpel[4]. Yet in his Commentary on this Goſpel he leaves it unnoticed in places where he examines the authenticity of readings: for inſtance, ιωη, Matth. v. 22. He thought probably that, even if it was the original, it was too corrupted to be of any ſervice in a caſe of criticiſm.

appeal to it would not have been the only deciſive method of determining the authenticity of a text, ſince an original itſelf may be corrupted as well as a tranſlation[s]. In examining a doubtful paſſage of the Latin verſion, in St. Luke or St. John's Goſpel for inſtance, of which no doubt is entertained that they were written originally in Greek, we do not inſtantly conclude that the paſſage is genuine, when we have found that it is in the Greek Goſpel of St. Luke or St. John: for the Greek may be corrupted as well as the Latin. Now it is not improbable that Origen thought the Hebrew Goſpel of St. Matthew had been ſo corrupted, as to render it an improper criterion in ſettling the text of the Greek: and if it was the ſame, as that which the Nazarenes uſed, he did not think ſo without reaſon.

Further if we read in connection all that Origen has written[t] on the paſſage, 'Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf,' our ſurprize that he did not appeal to the Hebrew Goſpel will be ſtill more diminiſhed. He alleges various arguments, and, as far as I can judge, in the name of others, rather than in his own, to ſhew that a doubt may be entertained of the authenticity of the paſſage in queſtion, but comes to no abſolute deciſion either one way or the other. His principal argument is the following. Jeſus appears to have approved the young man's anſwer, 'All this have I kept from my youth,' becauſe St. Mark immediately adds, 'Then Jeſus beholding him, loved him.' But if the commandment, 'Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf,' had been obſerved by this young man from his youth, there failed nothing to his moral accompliſhments; ſince the love of our neighbour is the fulfilling of the law: and conſequently Jeſus would not have replied, 'If thou wilt be perfect, ſell that thou haſt, and give to the poor.'—It appears from what I have already ſaid, that Origen's inquiry in the preſent inſtance

[t] Tom. III. p. 669—672.

ſtance is by no means a critical one: and therefore if he had poſſeſſed the Hebrew Goſpel of St. Matthew in its utmoſt purity, we need not be ſurpriſed, if he had not appealed to it. Immediately after the ſentence which Dr. Maſch has quoted from Origen's Commentary, and which I have given in a preceding paragraph, Origen writes as follows. 'I have diſcovered, through the aſſiſtance of God, a method of correcting the differences in the copies of the Old Teſtament, and have uſed the other editions as a criterion. When I found variations in the copies of the Septuagint, I examined the readings of the other editions, and retained thoſe which they confirmed. Some readings which were not in the Hebrew, I marked with an obelus, not venturing wholly to reject them. Other readings I marked with an aſteriſk, namely ſuch as were not in the Septuagint, but which I added from the other editions, becauſe they were confirmed by the Hebrew[6].' Now ſince Origen relates this in the very place where he examines whether Matth. xix. 19. be genuine, and yet has not recourſe to the ſame critical method of determining the queſtion, as he had applied in the Septuagint, it appears that he was not inclined, at leaſt not at that time, to undertake the ſame laborious taſk in reſpect to St. Matthew's Goſpel, as he had undertaken in regard to the Greek verſion of the Old Teſtament. He plainly diſtinguiſhes the critical from the exegetical examination of a reading; he ſhews from his own example relative to the Old Teſtament, in what manner critical inquiries muſt be conducted, and then concludes. Shall we infer therefore that in Origen's opinion St. Matthew's Goſpel was not written in Hebrew, becauſe he did not appeal to it? I think not: but I leave it to the reader, to draw that inference, which he thinks the moſt probable[7].

2. There is another paſſage in Origen's works, which Dr. Maſch conſiders as ſtill more deciſive than that which I have already examined: namely, in Origen's Homily

Homily on the Preface of St. Luke's Goſpel[7]. Here Origen diſcovers in the word επεχειρησαν a tacit cenſure, on the part of St. Luke, of thoſe who had written Goſpels before him, a cenſure inapplicable to men inſpired by the Holy Spirit, and obſerves; 'Matthew did not take in hand, but wrote by the inſtigation of the Holy Spirit: in like manner Mark, and John, as alſo Luke. But they who compoſed the Goſpel, intitled, The Goſpel of the Twelve, took in hand.'[8] Now ſince Jerom relates that the Hebrew Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes, which was the ſame as that which is known by the name of 'The Goſpel of the Twelve,' was called likewiſe by many the Hebrew Goſpel of St. Matthew[9], Dr. Maſch conſiders the paſſage juſt quoted as a proof that Origen expreſsly rejected the Hebrew Goſpel aſcribed to St. Matthew, and that he oppoſed it to the inſpired Greek Goſpel. But this is more than I can admit: for though Origen rejects the Goſpel, called the Goſpel of the Twelve, and oppoſes it to inſpired Goſpels, it by no means follows that he rejected therefore St. Matthew's Hebrew Goſpel, unleſs it can be proved that in Origen's opinion the Hebrew Goſpel, of which he ſpake, was the very ſame as that which St. Matthew had written[10]. As far as relates to the preſent inſtance, it is of no conſequence what others thought of the Hebrew Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes, but what Origen himſelf thought of it: and it is not improbable that, though Origen believed St. Matthew had written in Hebrew, (for he has expreſsly declared it) he did not believe that the Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes, was the ſame as St. Matthew's Goſpel. Or if he believed it to have been originally the ſame, yet in conſequence of the many alterations and additions, which

[7] Dr. Maſch quotes from Simon Hiſt. Crit. des Commentateurs du N. T. ch. v. p. 82. where Simon has quoted the paſſage from Greek manuſcripts. It has been ſince publiſhed in the Benedictine edition of Origen's works, Vol. III. p. 932.

which had been made in it, he might have thought proper to diſtinguiſh it from the genuine uncorrupted Goſpel of St. Matthew[11].

3. Dr. Maſch produces a paſſage from Euſebius's Commentary on the Pſalms, from which he ſays, this eccleſiaſtical writer manifeſtly ſignifies that in his opinion St. Matthew wrote in Greek[12]. Euſebius namely in his Annotation on Pſalm lxxviii. 2. which in the Septuagint runs thus, Ανοίξω εν παραβολαις το ςομα μϖ· φλεγξομαι προβληματα απ' αρχης, but in St. Matthew's Goſpel, ch. xiii. 35, is quoted in the following manner, Ανοιξω εν παραβολαις το ςομα μϖ· ερευξομαι κεκρυμμενα απο καταβολης κοσμυ, explains this difference by ſaying: Εβραιος ων ο Ματθαιος οικειᾳ εκδοσει κεχρηται. By οικειᾳ εκδοσις Dr. Maſch underſtands 'St. Matthew's own tranſlation,' and hence argues that, according to the repreſentation of Euſebius, St. Matthew wrote in Greek. But the word εκδοσις does not neceſſarily ſignify a tranſlation: it ſignifies literally an edition, and may be applied to the Hebrew as well as to the Greek. Nor will οικειᾳ, even if εκδοσις be conſtrued tranſlation, ſignify 'Matthew's own,' but will rather denote a tranſlation which was in uſe where St. Matthew lived; with which explanation the word κεχρηται well agrees. I believe indeed that Euſebius, by the words Εβραιος ων ο Ματθαιος οικειᾳ εκδοσει κεχρηται, meant to ſay, 'Matthew, as being a Hebrew, uſed the edition of his own country,' that is, the Hebrew Bible, and therefore quoted the paſſage as he found it in the Hebrew. But even if εκδοσις muſt be conſtrued tranſlation, ſtill οικειᾳ εκδοσις in reference to St. Matthew, will denote a Chaldee and not a Greek tranſlation. The explanation therefore given by Dr. Maſch is not defenſible. But were it true that the words of Euſebius admitted of the interpretation which he has given them, yet no one can deny they are capable alſo of another: and ſince Euſebius has at other times poſitively declared, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, the explanation which agrees with this opinion, and

and makes Euſebius conſiſtent with himſelf, is ſurely preferable to that, which involves him in a glaring contradiction.

SECT. VI.

Additional arguments in favour of the opinion, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew.

AS I have ſhewn in the two preceding ſections that the teſtimony of the ancients is uniformly in favour of a Hebrew original; it may appear unneceſſary to produce any other arguments, ſince queſtions of hiſtory muſt be finally determined by hiſtorical evidence. But if any reaſons can be aſſigned which ſhew that the fact, for which I contend, is probable in itſelf, they may be admitted as auxiliary or corroborative evidence.

In the firſt place then, it is agreed on all ſides[*], that St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel in Paleſtine, and for the immediate uſe of the inhabitants of that country, or, as eccleſiaſtical writers call them, the Hebrews. But if St. Matthew wrote for the immediate uſe of the inhabitants of Paleſtine, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that he wrote in the language of that country, that is, Syro-Chaldee, which eccleſiaſtical writers call Hebrew, as well as the more ancient language of the Old Teſtament. This ſubject I have examined at large in the Introduction

[*] Dr. Semler indeed makes an exception; for in his Hiſt. Eccl. ſelecta capita, Tom. I. p. 42, he ſays, Carpocrates et Cerinthus cum Alexandriæ verſati fuerint, et tamen Matthæi evangelio uſi, ſequitur ut falſum fere ſit, Matthæi Evangelium Palæſtinenſibus fuiſſe deſtinatum. But the circumſtance that Carpocrates and Cerinthus read St. Matthew's Goſpel in Alexandria, affords not even a preſumption, that he did not write it for the immediate uſe of the inhabitants of Paleſtine. Both Dr. Semler and myſelf have read St. Luke's Goſpel; we might therefore ſay on the ſame principles, Sequitur ut falſum ſit Lucæ Evangelium Theophilo fuiſſe deſtinatum.

tion to the Epiſtle to the Hebrews[t]: and, as what I have ſaid on the language of that Epiſtle is equally applicable to that of St. Matthew's Goſpel, I refer the reader to it for further information[u].

Dr. Maſch indeed has brought nine arguments[w] to prove that the Jews even of Jeruſalem univerſally underſtood Greek: but they really are of no value whatſoever. His firſt argument is, that in the Jewiſh ſynagogues, as ſoon as a ſection had been read from the Hebrew Bible, it was uſual to explain it to the people by reading it in the Chaldee or the Greek verſion. Now it is true that the Greek verſion was read in the Jewiſh Synagogues in Egypt, in Aſia Minor, and other countries where the Jews themſelves, as well as the reſt of the inhabitants, ſpoke Greek: but in Judæa, and in all thoſe countries which lay to the eaſtward, the Chaldee verſion was uſed. In the preſent inquiry therefore which is confined to Judæa alone, it is wholly foreign to the purpoſe to argue from the practice of reading the Greek Bible[x]. Another argument is, that many apocryphal books were written in Greek, and that Aquila made a Greek tranſlation of the Old Teſtament: but this proves only that there were countries in which the Jews ſpoke Greek, not that it was ſpoken in Paleſtine, and that too above fifty years before the time of Aquila[y]. The aſſertion that the Greek language was introduced into Paleſtine in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes is more than any one can prove: on the contrary, the victories of the Maccabees, and the ſubſe-

[t] Sect. 2. [u] Pag. 138—142.

[w] Dr. Maſch ſays, 'What ſervice could Aquila propoſe to render 'to the Jews by making a new Greek tranſlation of the Old Teſtament, unleſs the Greek language was univerſally known to them? *Anſwer*, That they, who *did* underſtand Greek, might read it.—It is ſurely a very extraordinary concluſion, that becauſe Aquila, who was a native of Pontus, and lived half a century after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, tranſlated the Old Teſtament into Greek, the inhabitants of Judæa in the time of the Apoſtles likewiſe ſpoke Greek.

ſubſequent enmity of the Jews toward the Grecian kings of Syria, muſt have prevented the introduction of that language. Another argument uſed by Dr. Maſch is, that in the Targum, and alſo in the Talmud, ſeveral Greek words and expreſſions occur: whence he infers, that the Greek language muſt have been well known to the Hebrews. Now we might with equal reaſon contend, that, becauſe many Latin and French words have been adopted in the German language, the Latin and French languages are univerſally underſtood in that country, and that a Latin or French Bible would be intelligible to a German congregation. But every one knows that this concluſion would be falſe: and therefore we cannot conclude, from ſimilar premiſes, that a Greek book would have been intelligible to a Jewiſh congregation in Jeruſalem. In the Syriac language a much greater number of Greek words was adopted, than we find in any Targum, or even in the Talmud: yet, the Greek language was ſo little underſtood by the common people in Syria, that the Syrian fathers, not excepting Ephrem, who lived at Edeſſa, a Grecian colony, thought it neceſſary to write in the language of the country[3].—As Dr. Maſch's other arguments prove nothing more than that the Greek language was ſpoken by the Jews who lived in the countries which lay weſtward of Paleſtine, and that they who lived in Jeruſalem *might* have learned Greek from the foreign Jews who reſorted to that city, it would be uſeleſs to attempt a confutation of them. To his objection, that St. Matthew's Goſpel, if written in Hebrew, (that is, Syro-Chaldee) would have been confined in its uſe to a very ſmall diſtrict, I anſwer, that Syro-Chaldee was ſpoken not only by the Jews of Paleſtine, but alſo by the Jews of Syria and Meſopotamia. In Arabia likewiſe were many Jewiſh families; and though Syro-Chaldee was not the language of Arabia, as it was of Syria and Meſopotamia, yet the Jews who ſettled there, and brought with them their Chaldee paraphraſe, retained

tained probably their native language. Nor muſt we forget that Arabia is the country, where Pantænus is ſaid to have ſeen the Hebrew Goſpel of St. Matthew at the end of the ſecond century; whence we ſee that it continued in uſe among the eaſtern Jews long after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the diſperſion of the Jews of Paleſtine.

If St. Matthew wrote before St. Luke, whether in the year 41, or 49, is immaterial; a ſecond reaſon for ſuppoſing that he wrote in Hebrew may be ſought in the preface to St. Luke's Goſpel. In this preface St. Luke, at leaſt as I underſtand him, caſts an indirect cenſure on the Goſpels which had been written before his own. Conſequently, St. Matthew's Goſpel, if it then exiſted, muſt have been unknown to St. Luke. But this is inexplicable on any other ſuppoſition than that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew: for had he written in Greek, whether in 41, or 49, his Goſpel could not have remained unknown to St. Luke, who had travelled with St. Paul through ſo many different countries, who had been with him in Jeruſalem, and ſpent two years in Cæſarea[4]. However I ſhall not inſiſt on this argument, becauſe it depends on the ſuppoſition that St. Luke wrote later than St. Matthew, which, though admitted by Dr. Maſch, ſome authors have denied.

A third probable argument may be derived from the quotations in St. Matthew's Goſpel from the Old Teſtament: for they more frequently agree with the Hebrew text, than with the text of the Septuagint[x], as Jerom has obſerved in ſeveral places. Now this phænomenon cannot be better explained, than on the hypotheſis that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and that his Greek tranſlator gave ſometimes a literal tranſlation of the Hebrew quotations, but at other times conſulted the Septu-

[x] See Vol. I. ch. v. ſect. 3. of this Introduction.

Septuagint, and quoted the paſſages, as they ſtood in the Greek verſion [7].

SECT. VII.

Examination of the objections, which have been made to the opinion, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew.

1. THE firſt objection is, that among all the writers who have aſſerted that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, not one has pretended to have actually ſeen and uſed the original.

Now there are many books, beſide St. Matthew's Goſpel, which are no longer extant in the language in which they were written, and yet we do not doubt, that thoſe books once exiſted. It is ſurely not incredible, that a Goſpel written in Hebrew might dwindle into oblivion, and become gradually extinct, after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the diſperſion of the Hebrew Jews. Paleſtine ceaſed at the end of the firſt century to be a ſeminary for Jewiſh converts, who underſtood Hebrew: and to the Greek Chriſtians, a Hebrew Goſpel was of no value.

But ſuppoſe the Hebrew Goſpel continued ſeveral centuries in exiſtence, yet, if we except Origen and Jerom, perhaps none of the fathers, who have ſpoken of this Goſpel, were able to read it. The objection therefore applies chiefly, if not entirely to Origen and Jerom. But Jerom not only declares that he had ſeen the Hebrew Goſpel, which was believed to be St. Matthew's

[7] The exclamation of Chriſt on the croſs, Matth. xxvii. 46. Eli, Eli, lama ſabacthani, is given in the Syriac verſion, without any interpretation: but in the parallel paſſage of St. Mark's Goſpel, an interpretation is added in the Syriac verſion, as well as in the Greek. This difference is not unworthy of notice, though I do not think it of ſufficient importance, to ground an argument upon it.

thew's original, but even that he made a tranſlation of it. Origen indeed rejects the Hebrew Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes, which is the Goſpel that Jerom tranſlated, whence it is inferred that in Origen's opinion the author of it was not an Apoſtle. But this inference is liable to many objections: for the Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes, which Jerom tranſlated, may have been originally the work of St. Matthew, and afterwards ſo corrupted by alterations and additions, as deſervedly to loſe all canonical authority. On this ſubject I ſhall ſay nothing further at preſent, becauſe it will be particularly conſidered in one of the following ſections. But whether it is admitted that the Hebrew Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes was originally the work of St. Matthew or not, yet, if we may credit the accounts of Euſebius and Jerom, Pantænus at leaſt ſaw it in the hands of the Chriſtians in Arabia Felix, a country where we may not unreaſonably ſuppoſe that a Hebrew Goſpel muſt have been longer preſerved than in Paleſtine itſelf[z].

2. Another opinion is, that if St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and by Hebrew is to be underſtood the language ſpoken in Paleſtine in the time of the Apoſtles, a Syriac tranſlation of the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew would have been wholly unneceſſary: for, as the Chaldee dialect ſpoken in Jeruſalem differed from the Syriac only in the form of the letters and in the punctuation, a Syrian need only have learnt the Hebrew characters, to have underſtood St. Matthew's Goſpel in the original.

But if St. Matthew wrote in ancient Hebrew, this objection will not apply. And if by Hebrew we underſtand Chaldee, we muſt recollect that we have a Syriac verſion of the Chaldee paſſages in the book of Daniel. This queſtion I have fully examined in the ſixteenth ſection of my Introduction to the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, to which I refer the reader for further information[a].

3. The

[z] See Sect. 4. of this chapter.

3. The third objection is, that in St. Matthew's Goſpel an interpretation is given of ſeveral Hebrew words, for inſtance, Ch. i. 23. xxvii. 36. 46.: which would not have been given, if St. Matthew had written in Hebrew, for the uſe of the Hebrews.

Now if St. Matthew wrote in Chaldee, an interpretation of Hebrew words was not improper: and in whatever oriental language he wrote, his Greek tranſlator would have added interpretations of the oriental expreſſion, which he retained in the tranſlation, or Greek readers would not have underſtood them [3].

4. The fourth objection is, that in St. Matthew's Goſpel paſſages of the Old Teſtament are ſometimes quoted not according to the Hebrew text but according to the Septuagint text: for inſtance, Ch. ii. 18. iii. 3. iv. 4. 6.

Now this is a very extraordinary objection, becauſe the paſſages of the Old Teſtament are commonly quoted in this Goſpel according to the Hebrew text, as is obſerved by Jerom, who aſſigns as a reaſon for it, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew. It is true, that ſome few quotations in the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew agree with the text of the Septuagint. But this will not prove that St. Matthew himſelf wrote in Greek and quoted from the Septuagint: for Hebrew quotations from the Old Teſtament made in a Goſpel written originally in that language, may ſometimes at leaſt have been given by a Greek tranſlator in the words of the Greek verſion, which was in general uſe. Irenæus certainly wrote in Greek, and quoted from the Greek text of the New Teſtament: yet in the Latin tranſlation of the works of Irenæus, the quotations from the New Teſtament, inſtead of being verbally rendered from the Greek, are given in the words of the Latin verſion. But if the agreement of theſe quotations with the Latin verſion will not prove that Irenæus wrote in Latin, neither will the agreement of the quotations in St. Matthew's Goſpel with the text of the Greek verſion, prove that St. Matthew wrote in Greek [4].

5. Dr.

5. Dr. Maſch objects[a] that in the genealogy of Chriſt, in the firſt chapter of St. Matthew's Goſpel, the proper names are written with the orthography of the Septuagint. Further, that in ſeveral places, where there are no formal quotations from the Septuagint, we find phraſes and modes of expreſſion, which were manifeſtly taken from it: for inſtance, ch. v. 4. 5. 34. vii. 8. xxiv. 15. 29. xxv. 36. compared with Iſaiah lxi. 2. lx. 21. lxvi. 1. Prov. viii. 17. Dan. ix. 27. Iſai. xiii. 10. Ezek. xviii. 7.

Now I ſhall make no objections to theſe ſeven examples (though I do not think them happily choſen, for ſome of them are real quotations), becauſe if not ſeven only but ſeventy paſſages could be produced from the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew, which contained expreſſions uſed in the Septuagint, they would not prove that it was not a tranſlation. Arguments of this kind are merely neutral and prove, neither on the one ſide, nor on the other. They ſhew only that the perſon, who wrote the Greek Goſpel, was well acquainted with the language of the Septuagint: but they leave the queſtion wholly undecided whether that perſon was an original writer, or only gave a tranſlation of the work of another. Both Jews and Chriſtians, who lived in countries, where the Greek language was ſpoken, and of courſe read the Bible in the Greek verſion, were by daily habit ſo familiariſed with its expreſſions, that it would have been hardly in their power to write, whether an original or a tranſlation, without occaſionally introducing them. Beſides, four of theſe ſeven examples are taken from Chriſt's ſermon on the mount; if they prove therefore, that this diſcourſe in the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew is not a tranſlation, they muſt prove at the ſame time, that Chriſt

[a] Pag. 130—134.

Chriſt delivered it in Greek, which is more than Dr. Maſch himſelf would allow [b].

With reſpect to the firſt part of this objection, that the proper names in the genealogy of Chriſt are written as they are in the Septuagint, it cannot prove that the genealogy was written originally in Greek, unleſs it can be ſhewn that a tranſlator in rendering from the Hebrew, muſt neceſſarily have retained the Hebrew orthography. When Dr. Maſch ſays, that a tranſlator could not have written all theſe proper names as we find them in the firſt chapter of St. Matthew's Goſpel, without turning every inſtant to the Septuagint, he muſt ſuppoſe, that a Greek tranſlator of the Hebrew Goſpel in the firſt century was in the ſame ſituation as he or I ſhould be, if we had to tranſlate from Hebrew into Greek. But a Greek tranſlator would as readily adopt the orthography of the Septuagint, as a German tranſlator that of Luther's verſion: for the Greek Bible was to him, what the German Bible is to us. Beſides, this objection, if valid, would prove too much: for it would apply alſo to St. Matthew himſelf.

6. Dr. Maſch aſſerts [c], that in St. Matthew's Greek Goſpel are found all thoſe qualifications, which diſcover a work to be an original, and which, without a moſt extraordinary combination of circumſtances, are not to be expected in a tranſlation. Moſt tranſlations, he ſays, eſpecially ſuch as are literal, inſtantly betray themſelves as ſuch: and it is not difficult to diſcover even the language from which they were made, becauſe a tranſlator inſenſibly adopts the modes of expreſſion,

[b] As the Aramæan words, which occur in Chriſt's diſcourſes, are expreſſed in our Greek Goſpels according to the punctuation of the Chaldee dialect, which was ſpoken in Jeruſalem, and was more refined than the Syriac, we muſt conclude that, though the latter dialect was ſpoken in Galilee, the former was uſed by Chriſt, which was probably owing to the circumſtance, that both Joſeph and Mary came out of Judæa.

[c] Pag. 82—97.

preſſion, which are peculiar to the language from which he tranſlates.

Now one ſhould ſuppoſe from this objection, that the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew was written in ſuch pure language as to diſcover no marks of a Hebrew idiom: for otherwiſe the objection is wholly inapplicable in the preſent inſtance. But it is ſo well known that the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew abounds with Hebrew idioms, that it would be a waſte of time to produce examples[d]. Even were it written in the pureſt Greek, its language would be no abſolute proof that it was not a tranſlation: for there are ſome, though not many, tranſlations, which are ſo well executed, that they might eaſily paſs for originals.—On the other hand, it muſt not be underſtood, that the hebraizing language in St. Matthew's Goſpel affords a poſitive argument for a Hebrew original, ſince St. Matthew himſelf would not have written in pure Greek. Though I deny therefore Dr. Maſch's inference, I do not, from his premiſes alone, infer the contrary.

7. The ſeventh objection is, that no tranſlation ever was made without ſome few miſtakes: but that no one can ſhew any ſuch miſtakes in the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew.

But this objection proves nothing: for if the Greek Goſpel is a tranſlation, the original is loſt: and therefore a com-

[d] The Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew hebraizes in a much greater degree than the writings of St. Luke and St. Paul, than the Goſpel and Epiſtles of St. John, and the Epiſtles of St. Peter and St. James. It has even more Hebraiſms than many books of the Septuagint; for inſtance, the Proverbs of Solomon, and the five books of Moſes, though the latter are a very cloſe tranſlation from the Hebrew. The Apocalypſe, though it contains more violations of the rules of grammar, yet is written in ſuch flowing language, and has ſo much both of the beautiful and the ſublime, as to put it out of all competition, as far as the excellence of compoſition is concerned, with St. Matthew's Goſpel. The only book of the New Teſtament, which is written in worſe Greek, is the Goſpel of St. Mark: and this is owing rather to other cauſes, than to the number of Hebraiſms.

a compariſon between them, which alone can determine the queſtion, cannot take place.

8. The eighth objection is, that the Greek fathers quote the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew, as an inſpired book, and with ſuch confidence, as implies that, notwithſtanding their declarations that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, they really believed that they were uſing the words, which proceeded from the pen of the Evangeliſt.

To this objection I anſwer that the Greek fathers quoted the ſeptuagint as an inſpired work, and with as much confidence as they quoted the Greek Goſpel. They who have not acceſs to an original muſt be contented with a tranſlation: and, as ſome of them believed in the preſent inſtance that the tranſlation was made by an inſpired writer, they entertained no doubt of its accuracy[5].

9. Laſtly, as a proof that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, it is alledged that the Greek Goſpel already exiſted, when St. Mark wrote. In ſupport of this poſition Dr. Maſch[e] has produced the following example. The text of the Septuagint at Zech. xiii. 7. is Παλαξάτε τους ποιμένας, και εκσπασάτε τα πρόβατα: but in St. Matthew's Goſpel, ch. xxvi. 31. the paſſage is quoted thus, Παλαξω τον ποιμενα, και διασκορπισθησεται τα πρόβατα της ποιμνης, and theſe very words are uſed likewiſe by St. Mark, ch. xiv. 27. with exception to της ποιμνης, which St. Mark has not. This deviation of the two Evangeliſts from the Septuagint, and their verbal agreement with each other, Dr. Maſch conſiders as a proof, that St. Mark copied from the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew.

To this objection I anſwer that, though the text of the Septuagint quoted by Dr. Maſch from Zech. xiii. 7. which is that of the Roman edition, is very different from the quotation made in the Goſpels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, it is by no means improbable that in the

[e] Pag. 36.

the time of the Apoſtles there exiſted copies of the Septuagint, in which no ſuch difference was viſible. The various readings ſtill exiſting at this paſſage juſtify the conjecture: for inſtead of παλαξατε τους ποιμενας, και εκσπασατε τα προβατα, the Codex Alexandrinus has παλαξον τον ποιμενα, και διασκορπισθησονται τα προβατα της ποιμνης. The difference between this text and that of the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew is not ſo material: it conſiſts chiefly between παλαξω and παλαξον[f], for διασκορπισθησονται is found in ſeveral MSS both in St. Matthew's and in St. Mark's Goſpel. Further, this reading is quoted by Flaminius Nobilius (and moreover without της ποιμνης, which is omitted by St. Mark), among the various readings to the Suptuagint: it is confirmed by the Aldine and Complutenſian editions, and other authorities, which may be ſeen in the ſixth volume of the London Polyglot. It is therefore not improbable that in St. Mark's copy of the Septuagint, the paſſage in Zechariah was worded as he has quoted it: and therefore his agreement in this inſtance with the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew will not prove that he copied from it.

On the other hand, if the reading παλαξατε τους ποιμενας, κ. τ. λ. and no other, was in the copies of the Septuagint in the firſt century, it follows that the quotations from Zech. xiii. 7. as we find it both in Matth. xxvi. 31. and Mark xiv. 27. was taken not from the Septuagint, but from the Hebrew Bible. Indeed παλαξατε τους ποιμενας, in the plural number, would not have ſuited the purpoſe for which the quotation was made: for Chriſt, who made it at the time when he was ſeized, applied it to himſelf, who was the ſhepherd that was ſmitten, as the Apoſtles were the ſheep of the flock, that were ſcattered abroad. It is true, that two ſeparate and

[f] In the Arabic verſion of Zechariah, which was made from the Septuagint, we find اضربْ, which may denote either παταξον or πατάξον, according as it is pointed.

and independent Greek tranſlators of the Hebrew text at Zech. xiii. 7. would not have agreed perhaps in the very words. Yet it is no neceſſary conſequence that St. Mark copied from the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew, ſince the agreement may be equally well explained on the ſuppoſition that the Greek tranſlator of St. Matthew's Goſpel copied from St. Mark[g].

SECT. VIII.

Obſervations on ſeveral paſſages in the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew where the tranſlator appears to have rendered inaccurately: with conjectures relative to the words of the original, and the cauſes, which might lead a tranſlator into error.

IF the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew is not the original, which was penned by the Evangeliſt, we cannot aſcribe to it a verbal inſpiration, and it is moreover not impoſſible that the tranſlator in ſome few inſtances miſtook the ſenſe of his author. We have no reaſon however to be alarmed on this account, becauſe the moſt material parts, or thoſe in which we are chiefly intereſted, are recorded likewiſe by one or more of the other Evangeliſts. Beſides, as the Greek tranſlation is really half Hebrew[h], it is manifeſt that it is a very cloſe one. Nor is it difficult for thoſe who are well acquainted with Syriac and Chaldee, which are abſolutely neceſſary to a right underſtanding of St. Matthew's Goſpel, to diſcover in dubious paſſages the words which were probably uſed in the original.

Before I venture to offer any of my own conjectures, I will mention one, which was made by Jerom on

[g] This ſolution is given by Grotius[6].

[h] See for inſtance ch. ii. 6. iv. 15. xxi. 32. xxviii. 1.

οψε δε σαββατων, Matth. xxviii. 1. The word οψε is ſomewhat unſuitable to this paſſage, becauſe the events which immediately follow, took place not late in the evening, but early in the morning, or between midnight and day-break. Jerom therefore ſays[i], Mihi videtur evangeliſtam Matthæum, qui Evangelium Hebraico ſermone conſcripſit non tam *veſpere* dixiſſe, quam *ſero*. Now I perfectly agree with Jerom, that St. Matthew did not uſe a word expreſſive of *veſpere:* but I doubt whether he uſed a word expreſſive of *ſero*. My conjecture on this paſſage the reader will find in my Hiſtory of the Reſurrection[k].

Having premiſed the authority of Jerom, I will now propoſe ſome conjectures of my own. Ch. iii. 15. πασαν δικαιοσυνην is not ſo ſuitable to the context, as παντα τα δικαιωματα, which ſignifies 'all commandments relative to religious ceremonies'[l]. Perhaps כל חק was uſed in the original[l]:—Ch. iv. 8. the tempter conducts Chriſt to the top of a lofty mountain, and ſhews him πασας τας βασιλειας τε κοσμε. Now if we take theſe words in a literal ſenſe, the fact is utterly impoſſible: and if it was a mere illuſion, there was no neceſſity for aſcending a lofty mountain. Here ſome word muſt have been uſed in the original, which was capable of more than one tranſlation: perhaps הארץ, which ſignifies 'the land,' as well as 'the earth'; or חבל, which as well as οικουμενη, may denote the land of Paleſtine[l]. Or, thirdly, what is perhaps the moſt probable conjecture, it is not improbable that St. Matthew wrote כל ממלכות הצבי, that is, 'all the kingdoms of the Holy Land,'[m] and that the tranſlator miſtook צבי for צבא, which in the Septuagint is ſometimes rendered by κοσμος[n]. It is even poſſible, as צבי ſignifies literally 'beauty,'

[i] Hædibiæ Queſt. 4. Tom. IV. p. 173. ed Martianay.

[k] See my Note[2] to Maccab. i. 13.

[l] Οικουμενη is uſed in this ſenſe[4], Luke iv. 5. Acts xi. 28.

[m] See Daniel viii. 9. xi. 16. 41. Jerem. iii. 19.

[n] See Gen. ii. 1. Deut. iv. 19. xvii. 3. Iſaiah xxiv. 21. xl. 46.

'beauty,' and κοσμος has likewiſe this ſenſe, that the tranſlation in queſtion was occaſioned by a too literal adherence to the original. Now all the kingdoms, which exiſted in Paleſtine in the time of Chriſt, could be ſeen from the top of mount Nebo°: St. Matthew therefore meant all the kingdoms of Paleſtine, which his tranſlator converted into 'all the kingdoms of the world.'—Ch. v. 18. εως αν παντα γενηται is not very intelligible, for the queſtion relates to the laws of God, and the laws of God are not univerſally fulfilled. Perhaps the words of the original were עד כי יעשה הכל, which are capable of a different tranſlation from εως αν παντα γενηται; for עד may denote 'for ever,' and כי, if לא was uſed in the preceding clauſe, would ſignify 'but.' The meaning therefore of Chriſt was, 'As long as heaven and earth remain, they ſhall not be aboliſhed, but every thing ſhall be executed[5].'—Ch. v. 48. τελειοι is ſomewhat obſcure. A word expreſſive of peace or reconciliation, would be more ſuitable to the context, than a word expreſſive of perfection. Perhaps שלמים was uſed in the original, which admits both ſenſes.—Ch. viii. 28, 29. mention is made of two demoniacs, whereas St. Mark and St. Luke mention only one. Now, if the dialect, in which St. Matthew wrote, was the Syriac, this contradiction may be aſcribed to the tranſlator. For in Syriac, when a noun is in what is called the Status emphaticus, it has the very ſame orthography in the ſingular, as it has in the plural[6]; and even in the verb, the third perſon plural is ſometimes written like the third perſon ſingular, without the Vau, namely ܐܡܪ for ܐܡܪܘ. However I ſhall not inſiſt on this explanation, becauſe I much doubt whether St. Matthew wrote in Syriac[7].—Ch. ix. 18. Jairus ſays of his daughter αρτι ετελευτησε, 'ſhe is already dead,' whereas, according to St. Mark, he ſays εσχατως εχει, 'ſhe is at the point of death,' and receives the firſt intel-

° See Deut. xxxiv. 1—34. From the top of Nebo, even mount Sinai may be diſcerned.

intelligence of her death, as he was returning home accompanied by Christ. Various artifices have been used by the harmonists to reconcile this contradiction, and with very little success: but as soon as we reflect on the words, which must have stood in the original, all difficulty vanishes on this head. For עתה מתה may signify either 'she is now dead,' or 'she is now dying'.[8] St. Matthew's translator rendered the word according to the former punctuation, whereas he ought rather to have adopted the latter, as appears from what is related by the two other Evangelists[9].—Ch. xi. 12. η βασιλεια των ϰρανων βιαζεται is so harsh and obscure, and the expression used by St Luke[9] on the same occasion, η βασιλεια τϒ Θεϒ ευαγγελιζεται is so easy and natural, that there is reason to doubt whether St. Matthew's original was in this passage rendered properly. Now ευαγγελιζω is in Hebrew בשר: but if this word be written בסר with Samech instead of Sin, as it is in Syriac, a translator might render it by βιαζω, especially if חמס followed in the same sentence. For both בסר and חמס signify, 1. *Crudus fuit*, 2. *Violavit*; and the corresponding Arabic word بسر signifies also *intempestive fecit*, and *vim intulit*. If then St. Matthew wrote מלכות השמים תבסר ואנשי המס יגזלוה, the translator might explain בסר by חמס, and consequently render the three words by η βασιλεια των ϰρανων βιαζεται. I will not affirm however that this solution is the true one, as it is rather too artificial.—Ch. xxi. 33. ωρυξε ληνον, 'he dug a wine press,' is an incorrect expression, for it was properly the υπολήνιον which was dug, and hence St. Mark[9] has ωρυξεν υπολήνιον, which is correct. St. Matthew wrote probably חצב יקב, an expression used by Isaiah, ch. v. 2. on which I refer the reader to Lowth's note on that verse.—Ch. xxi. 41. λεγουσιν αυτω seems to be a false reading, not only because the words which follow were, according to St Mark, uttered by Christ, but

[8] Ch. xvi. 16. [9] Ch. xii. 1.

but becauſe it is improbable that the Jewiſh prieſts, who certainly underſtood the import of the parable, which Chriſt had juſt delivered to them, would have anſwered κακους κακως απολεσει αυτους, and from the account given by St. Luke it appears that they actually gave a very different anſwer[r]. In this paſſage therefore St. Matthew wrote probably ויאמר, 'he ſaid,' which was miſtaken for ויאמרו, 'they ſaid,' perhaps by the tranſcriber, who wrote the copy, from which the Greek tranſlation was made. Further, if this miſtake was made in the verſe in queſtion, the tranſlator muſt have conſidered ויאמר ver. 42. not as a continuation of Chriſt's diſcourſe, but as a reply to what the Jewiſh prieſts had ſaid. Perhaps objections may be made to this ſolution: but I know of no other method of reconciling in this inſtance, St. Matthew with St. Mark and St. Luke, and it is ſurely better to ſuppoſe that St. Matthew's tranſlator made a miſtake, than to aſcribe the miſtake to the Evangeliſt himſelf. It is true that the difficulty may be removed by ſaying that λεγουσιν αυτω is an interpolation: but for this aſſertion we have no authority, ſince theſe words are found in all the Greek manuſcripts, except the Codex Leiceſtrenſis, which cannot be put in competition with the united evidence of all other manuſcripts.

To the example which now follows I believe no objection will be made. Immediately after Chriſt was faſtened to the croſs[s], they gave him, according to St. Matthew, ch. xxvii. 34. vinegar mingled with gall, but according to St. Mark, ch. xv. 23. they offered him wine mingled with myrrh. Here is a manifeſt contradiction, and of courſe in one of the two accounts there muſt be an inaccuracy. That St. Mark's account is the

[r] Ακουσαντες δε ειπον· μη γενοιτο.

[s] What is now the object of conſideration muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed from that which took place ſeveral hours afterwards, ſhortly before Chriſt expired.

the right one is probable from the circumſtance, that Chriſt refuſed to drink what was offered him, as appears both from Matth. xxvii. 34. and Mark xv. 23. Wine mixed with myrrh was given to malefactors at the place of execution, in order to intoxicate them, and make them leſs ſenſible to pain. Chriſt therefore with great propriety refuſed the aid of ſuch remedies. But if vinegar was offered him, which was taken merely to aſſuage thirſt, there could be no reaſon for his rejecting it. Beſides, he taſted it, before he rejected it, and therefore he muſt have found it different from that which, if offered to him, he was ready to receive. To ſolve this difficulty we muſt ſuppoſe that the words uſed in the Hebrew Goſpel of St. Matthew were ſuch, as agreed with the account given by St. Mark, and at the ſame time were capable of the conſtruction, which was put upon them by St. Matthew's Greek tranſlator. Nor is it difficult to conjecture what theſe words were. Suppoſe St. Matthew wrote[t] חליא במרירא, which ſignifies 'ſweet wine with bitters,' or 'ſweet wine and myrrh,' as we find it in St. Mark, and St. Matthew's tranſlator overlooked the Jod in חליא, he took it for חלא[u] which ſignifies 'vinegar:' and 'bitter' he tranſlated by χολη, as it is often rendered in the Septuagint. Nay,

[t] I here write the words in Chaldee; to make them Hebrew we need only ſubſtitute ה for א.

[u] חלא in Chaldee, ܚܠܐ in Syriac, and خل in Arabic, ſignify *acetum*. In Hebrew the word would be written חלה. Further חלא in Chaldee and Syriac, as well as حلو in Arabic, ſignifies *dulcis fuit*. Hence חלא, and in the ſtatus emphaticus חליא, may ſignify *vinum dulce*. In Latin, *Dulcia* is particularly uſed to denote wine mixed with myrrh. See Briſſonius de Verborum Significatione, p. 365.

Nay St. Matthew may have written חלא, and have ſtill meant to expreſs 'ſweet wine': if ſo, the difference conſiſted only in the points, for the ſame word חלא, which, when pronounced Halé, ſignifies 'ſweet,' denotes, as ſoon as we pronounce it Hala, 'vinegar.' The tranſlator of St. Matthew's Goſpel miſunderſtood the words of the original; but St. Mark, who had been better informed by St. Peter, has given the true account[10].

Other contradictions, which the harmoniſts have not been able to reconcile, might perhaps be removed in the ſame manner: and by ſhewing that the diſcordancies aroſe, not from St. Matthew himſelf, but from his tranſlator, objections may be anſwered, which have been made both to the inſpiration of the Apoſtles, and to the Chriſtian religion itſelf. For inſtance, if it be true, that the reading διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ησαΐου, Matth. xiii. 35. on which Porphyry grounded one of his objections, be genuine in reſpect to the Greek Goſpel, and from Jerom's anſwer we muſt really conclude that it was found in moſt of the Greek manuſcripts in his time, it is poſſible that the reading is not genuine in reſpect to the Hebrew original, for it is poſſible that Ησαΐου was added by the Greek tranſlator who might have borrowed it from the 14th verſe. An author, who quotes a paſſage, may be reaſonably expected to know from what book he quotes it: but the ſame knowledge is not always to be expected from a tranſlator.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

Of the Hebrew Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes and the Ebionites: and whether this Goſpel, in its primitive ſtate, was the Hebrew Goſpel of St. Matthew.

THE queſtion, whether the Hebrew Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes was written by St. Matthew, muſt not be confounded with the queſtion, whether St. Matthew wrote a Hebrew Goſpel; though the latter be true, the former may not, ſince it is poſſible that more than one Hebrew Goſpel was compoſed. We muſt likewiſe diſtinguiſh the Goſpel of the Nazarenes in the ſtate, in which it was known to the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries, from the original ſtate of this Goſpel: for in its original ſtate it may have been the work of St. Matthew, and yet have been afterwards ſo interpolated and corrupted, as to be no longer the ſame Goſpel[x]. The queſtion therefore to be examined is, whether the Goſpel of the Nazarenes was *originally* the ſame as the Hebrew Goſpel written by St. Matthew.

Among the various writers on this ſubject, I would particularly recommend Simon Hiſtoire critique du texte du N. T. ch. 7, 8. where the queſtion is anſwered in the affirmative. On the other ſide may be read Maii Examen hiſtoriæ criticæ, cap. 7, 8.: but Maius was rather a zealous adverſary, than a calm confuter of Simon, for he argued chiefly from the interpolations in the Goſpel of the Nazarenes, which Simon had already acknowledged as ſuch, and conſequently not written by St. Matthew. Further may be conſulted Mill's Prolegomena, § 42—49, and particularly Dr.

[x] This diſtinction removes likewiſe an objection to the opinion that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, drawn from the difference between the Goſpel of the Nazarenes and the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew.

Dr. Maſch's treatiſe on the original language of St. Matthew's Goſpel, where the queſtion is examined with ſo much the more minuteneſs, as it afforded the author an opportunity of attacking the opinion, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, on its weakeſt ſide. On the Nazarenes and the Ebionites Epiphanius has written in his 29th and 30th Hereſy; but as the accounts given by this Greek Father ſtand in need of critical corrections, the reader would do well to conſult at the ſame time Moſheim de rebus Chriſtianorum ante Conſtantinum Magnum, p. 324—332, and Walch's Hiſtory of the Heretics[t], Vol. i. p. 99—124. So much as is neceſſary for the examination of the preſent queſtion I will deliver as concisely as poſſible.

Both the Nazarenes and Ebionites were Chriſtians of Jewiſh origin, who lived for the moſt part to the eaſt of Jordan and the Orontes; and the principal city of the Nazarenes was Pella. The Nazarenes retained the name, which was originally borne, not by a ſingle ſect, but by the followers of Chriſt in general[u]: the Ebionites derived their name either from the Hebrew word Ebion, which ſignifies 'poor,' or, as ſome have thought, from a founder of the name of Ebion[x]. Both ſects were nearly allied to each other, but on ſome points they differed. The Nazarenes are ſaid to have rejected the four Goſpels received by the church, and the Ebionites ſtill more books of the New Teſtament. But as the Nazarenes did not underſtand Greek, they could not have uſed the Greek Goſpels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; and therefore we ſhould rather ſay, that the four Greek Goſpels were not in uſe among the Nazarenes, than that they actually rejected them: though on the other hand it is not improbable that they were prejudiced againſt Goſpels, which they did not underſtand, as ſome of the Greek Fathers, for this very reaſon, were prejudiced againſt the Hebrew Goſpel, which the Nazarenes uſed. Among the Ebionites, there were ſeveral who underſtood Greek[y]; their motive therefore

[u] See Acts xxiv. 5.

therefore for rejecting many books, which we receive, could be no other, than that they contained doctrines, which were not compatible with their own ſyſtem. Both ſects made uſe of a Hebrew Goſpel, which was called the Goſpel of St. Matthew, but which contained many paſſages not found in the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew. Both ſects agreed in retaining the Levitical law[z], at the ſame time that they profeſſed themſelves followers of Chriſt: but they differed from each other in this reſpect, that the Ebionites conſidered Chriſt as a mere man, whereas, the Nazarenes, if not all, at leaſt ſome of them, are ſaid to have aſcribed to him a divine origin. According to Moſheim and Walch theſe two ſects began in the ſecond century[a]: and at the end of the fifth century they appear to have been extinct. Jerom, who wrote at the beginning of the fifth century, deſcribes the Nazarenes as a ſect then exiſting, but after his time they are not mentioned in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. It is true, that a ſect called Naſiræans exiſted at Perrha on the Euphrates in the beginning of the ſixth century: but they were totally different from the Nazarenes, for they derived their name, not from Nazareth, but from the Naſiræans of the Old Teſtament, and were a ſet of ſuperſtitious monks, who made it a rule never to eat or drink, except at the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, which however they repeated ſo frequently every day, as to ſecure themſelves from the danger of dying either through hunger or thirſt[a]. This ſect therefore muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed from the Nazarenes, who are the ſubject of inquiry in this ſection.

Though both the Nazarenes and the Ebionites had a Hebrew Goſpel, which was called the Goſpel of St. Matthew,

[z] The Ebionites were however more zealous in this reſpect than the Nazarenes, for they inſiſted on the obſervance not only of the Law of Moſes, but likewiſe of all the additions which had been made to it by the Rabbins.

[a] See Aſſemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. I. p. 412.

Matthew, it is poſſible that the Goſpel uſed by the former differed materially from that which was uſed by the latter. Our accounts of both are very imperfect, but of the two we have the moſt knowledge of that which was uſed by the Nazarenes. Jerom, who not only read, but copied and tranſlated it, relates that it was written with Hebrew letters, but in the Chaldee dialect[b]. The circumſtance that it was written with Hebrew letters was undoubtedly the cauſe of its being ſo little known to the Syrians, who would have underſtood it, if it had been written with Syriac characters.

It has been ſuppoſed, though perhaps without ſufficient reaſon, that Tatian, an Aſſyrian writer of the ſecond century, made uſe of the Goſpel of the Nazarenes, in compoſing his harmony, which is generally called διὰ τεσσάρων, but ſometimes διὰ πέντε, on the ſuppoſition that it was compoſed out of five Goſpels[c]. Were the ſuppoſition grounded, the Harmony of Tatian, and the Commentary, which Ephrem wrote on it[d], would be of ſome importance in the preſent inquiry: but neither of theſe works are now extant[e]. Tatian omitted the genealogy of Chriſt, becauſe, as ſome ſay, he was a Docete: but he might have omitted it

[b] In Evangelio juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque ſermone, ſed Hebraicis literis ſcriptum eſt, quo utuntur uſque hodie Nazareni, ſecundum Apoſtolos, ſive, ut plerique autumant, juxta Matthæum, quod et in Cæſarienſi habetur bibliotheca, narrat hiſtoria, &c. Hieronym. adv. Pelagianos, Lib. III. Tom. iv. p. 533. ed. Martianay. When therefore the ſame Father, in his Note to Matth. xii. 13. ſays, In Evangelio quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitæ quod nuper in Græcum de Hebræo ſermone tranſtulimus, et quod vocatur a pleriſque Matthæi authenticum, &c. it is evident that he uſed the word Hebrew in its moſt extenſive ſenſe, ſo as to include alſo the Chaldee.

[c] Simon Hiſt. crit. du texte du N. T. Ch. VII p. 74. Fabricii Codex aprocryphus Nov. Teſt. Tom. I. p. 379. Beauſobre Hiſtoire du Manichéiſme, Tom. I. p. 303, 304.

[d] Aſſemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. P. I. p. 379.

it on the authority of the Hebrew Goſpel. This however is only conjecture. It is more certain that Origen was acquainted with this Goſpel, for he has ſometimes quoted it in his Commentary on St. Matthew[b]: but he did not receive it as the genuine work of an Apoſtle.

Jerom found a copy of this Goſpel, which in his time appears even in Paleſtine to have become ſcarce, in the library of Cæſarea, which had been formed by the martyr Pamphilus. Another copy was lent him by the Nazarenes at Bercœa in Syria, the city which is now called Aleppo[c]. This copy Jerom tranſcribed[f], and tranſlated into Latin[7]: his tranſlation however, as well as the original, is unfortunately loſt. After the time of Jerom no eccleſiaſtical writer appears to have uſed or even to have ſeen the Goſpel of the Nazarenes: the ſect itſelf dwindled gradually away, and conſequently their Goſpel, which few perſons could read, fell by degrees into oblivion. Single copies were probably preſerved for ſome time in different libraries; but few public libraries in the Eaſt eſcaped the ravages of the flames on the invaſion of the Saracens, and the copies, which remained in private families, were probably thrown aſide as unintelligible and uſeleſs, as ſoon as their value was forgotten. It is probable therefore that no other traveller into Aſia will have the ſame ſucceſs at Aleppo, as Jerom.

In examining the Goſpel of the Nazarenes, one of the firſt queſtions which occur is, whether it had the two chapters, with which the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew commences. Epiphanius, who was born in Paleſtine, and therefore had the beſt means of information,

[e] That Aleppo and Bercœa are one and the ſame city, appears from the accounts of the Syrian writers of the ſixth century, who relate of Aleppo what contemporary Greek hiſtorians relate of Bercœa. See the geographical Index to the ſecond volume of Aſſemani Bibl. Orientalis, and conſult the paſſages to which reference is there made.

[f] Hieronym. de Vir. illuſtr. Tom. IV. p. 102. ed. Martianay.

mation, did not take the pains to procure it: for in his deſcription of the Nazarenes, he ſays, 'I know not whether they alſo namely (as well as the Ebionites) omit the genealogy from Abraham to Chriſt[8].' Epiphanius then had neither ſeen the original, nor Jerom's tranſlation of it, (provided the tranſlation was then made): for if he had, he could not have remained in doubt. Jerom who had the greateſt knowledge of this ſubject, has no where poſitively declared whether the Nazarene Goſpel had theſe two chapters or not; which is not extraordinary, becauſe he had given a tranſlation of it, and therefore none of his contemporaries could want any further information. But as this tranſlation has not deſcended to the preſent time, the only method which we have of coming at the truth, is to collect the ſingle paſſages, in which Jerom has occaſionally mentioned this Goſpel, and to draw inferences from them.

In his Note to Matth. ii. 15. he expreſſes a doubt, whether the words, 'Out of Egypt have I called my ſon,' were taken from Hoſea xi. 1. or from Numb. xxiii. 22. Now if the Hebrew Goſpel of the Nazarenes contained the chapter, in which this quotation is made, Jerom could hardly have doubted whether the quoted paſſage was taken from Hoſea xi. 1. or not. This inſtance however is not deciſive, becauſe Jerom adds that he writes in this place 'propter contentioſos:' he himſelf therefore did not believe, that the quotation was taken from Numb. xxiii. 22, but advanced it merely to ſilence his adverſaries.—On the other hand, from his Note to Matth. ii. 5. we might conclude that he really found this chapter in the Hebrew Goſpel: for on Bethlehem Judææ, he ſays, 'Librariorum hic error eſt, putamus enim ab Evangeliſta primo editum, ſicut in ipſo Hebraico legimus, *Judæ* non *Judææ*.' Now the words 'in ipſo Hebraico' can have no other meaning than 'in the Hebrew Goſpel:' for they cannot refer to the Hebrew of the prophet Micah, whence the quotation was borrowed, becauſe in that place there is neither Bethlehem Judæ, nor Bethlehem Judææ, but

Bethlehem Ephratha. Yet it is difficult to comprehend how Jerom could diſtinguiſh in the Hebrew *Judæ* from *Judææ*, for both are expreſſed by יְהוּדָה [9]. I ſuſpect therefore that *Hebraico* is a miſtake for *Græco*, ſince the Greek has really Ἰουδᾶ [10].—There is a ſtill more important paſſage in Jerom's treatiſe of illuſtrious men, to which I referred in the preceding note, and which I will here quote at full length, becauſe we can judge only from the connection, whether he meant to ſay that the Hebrew Goſpel of the Nazarenes, or only the Greek Goſpel contained the ſecond chapter. 'Matthæus, qui et Levi, ex publicano Apoſtolus, primus in Judæa, propter eos qui ex circumciſione crediderant, Evangelium Chriſti Hebraicis literis verbiſque compoſuit. Quod qui poſtea in Græcum tranſtulerit, non ſatis certum eſt. Porro ipſum Hebraicum habetur uſque hodie in Cæſarienſi bibliotheca, quam Pamphilus Martyr ſtudioſiſſime confecit. Mihi quoque a Nazaræis, qui in Berœa urbe Syria hoc volumine utuntur, deſcribendi facultas fuit. In quo animadvertendum, quod ubique Evangeliſta ſive ex perſona ſua, ſive ex perſona Domini ſalvatoris, veteris ſcripturæ teſtimoniis abutitur, non ſequatur ſeptuaginta tranſlatorum auctoritatem, ſed Hebraicam: e quibus illa duo ſunt, 'Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum,' et 'Quoniam Nazaræus vocabitur.' Here it is evident that, if the words *in quo animadvertendum* refer to *hoc volumine* in the ſentence immediately preceding, the Hebrew Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes muſt have contained at leaſt the ſecond chapter, for the two quotations, 'Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum,' and 'Quoniam Nazaræus vocabitur,' are in Matth. ii. 15. 23. On the other hand, ſince Jerom at the beginning of this paſſage had ſpoken of St. Matthew in general terms, it is poſſible that he meant to refer to the Evangeliſt, without having in view the Goſpel of the Nazarenes in particular. At different times therefore I have entertained different opinions on this ſubject, but it appears to me at preſent, that Jerom really meant the Goſpel of the Naza-

renes, and consequently that it contained the second chapter[f].

The Gospel of the Nazarenes had, on the other hand, many passages, which are not in our Greek Gospel of St. Matthew. For instance, ch. iii. Ecce mater domini et fratres ejus dicebant ipsi Joannes Baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum: eamus et baptizemur ab eo. Dixit autem eis; quid peccavi, ut vadam et baptizer ab eo, nisi forte hoc ipsum quod dixi ignorantia est[g]. After the account of Christ's baptism follows, Factum est autem, cum ascendisset dominus de aqua, descendit fons omnis Spiritus sancti, et requievit super eum. Et dixit ille, fili mi, in omnibus prophetis expectabam te, ut venires, et requiescerem in te: tu enim es requies mea, tu es filius meus primogenitus, qui regnas in sempiternum[h]. At ch. xii. 10. the man with a withered hand says, Cœmentarius eram, manibus victum quæritans: precor te, Jesu, ut mihi restituas sanitatem, ne turpiter mendicem cibos[i]. At ch. xviii. 21. 22. the text was worded thus, Si peccaverit frater tuus in verbo, et satis tibi fecerit, septies in die suscipe illum. Dixit illi Simon discipulus ejus: septies in die? Respondit Dominus et dixit ei: etiam ego dico tibi, usque septuagesies. Etenim in prophetis quoque, postquam uncti sunt Spiritu sancto, inventus est sermo peccati. In ch. xxviii. is the following relation: Dominus autem, cum dedisset sindonem servo sacerdotis, ivit ad Jacobum, et apparuit ei. Juraverat enim Jacobus se non comesturum panem ab illa hora, qua biberat calicem Domini, donec viderat eum resurgentem a dormientibus[k]. And soon after this passage is, Adferte, ait Dominus mensam et panem.—Tulit panem et benedixit ac fregit, et post dedit Jacobo Justo, et dixit ei, frater mi comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit filius hominis,

[f] Heronym. adv. Pelagianos, Lib. III.

[g] Hieronym. Lib. IV. Comment. in Jesaiam, cap. 11.

[i] Hieronym. Comment. in Matthæum.

hominis a dormientibus[k]. In the 28th chapter was likewiſe a paſſage relative to Chriſt's appearance to Peter, which Ignatius[l] has in Greek as follows. Και ὁτε ηρος τους περι Πετρον ηλθεν, εφη αυτοις, λαβετε ψηλαφησατε με, και ιδετε ὁτι ουκ ειμι δαιμονιον ασωματον. Ignatius indeed does not ſay whence he derived this quotation: but Jerom, under the article Ignatius, in his catalogue of eccleſiaſtical writers, ch. 16. ſays that it ſtood in the Hebrew Goſpel of the Nazarenes. Further, Jerom ſays in another place[m], Cum enim Apoſtoli eum putarent ſpiritum, vel (ſecundum evangelium, quod Hebræorum lectitant Nazaræei) incorporale dæmonium.

Theſe and other paſſages in the Goſpel of the Nazarenes, which are not contained in the Greek, the Chriſtian Church has not received as Scripture authority. Yet the paſſages which Jerom has quoted, he has produced, as reſpectable though not Scripture authority: and the paſſage, which Ignatius quoted, is produced by this apoſtolical Father as a part of the ſacred writings. It is however improbable that they proceeded from[n] the pen of St. Matthew[n]: for if they had, it is hardly credible that ſuch long and remarkable paſſages would have been omitted in the Greek. The ancient tranſcribers of the Goſpels were always more inclined to inſert new paſſages, than to eraſe what already exiſted: we muſt conclude therefore that, if the Hebrew Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes was St. Matthew's original, it received various additions, after the Greek tranſlation had been made, and that hence aroſe the difference between the Hebrew and the Greek texts. In addition to the hiſtory recorded by St. Matthew, many other accounts

[k] Hieronym. Catal. Scriptorum Eccleſiaſt. ſ. v. Jacobus.

[l] Epiſt. ad. Smyrnenſes, cap. 3.

[m] Hieronym. Opera, Tom. III. p. 478. ed. Martianay.

[n] Perhaps the paſſage quoted by Ignatius may be excepted: for though it is in no Greek MS. at preſent, it might have been in the Greek text, when Ignatius wrote.

accounts relative to Jeſus Chriſt muſt have circulated among the Chriſtians of Paleſtine in the firſt century: and as every thing, which related to ſo remarkable a perſon, was undoubtedly conſidered as highly important, it is not extraordinary that they who had copies of St. Matthew's Hebrew Goſpel, ſhould add in the margin whatever information they could procure, with an intention of making the hiſtory of Chriſt as complete as poſſible. In ſubſequent tranſcripts theſe marginal additions were taken into the text: and thus the Goſpel of the Nazarenes received an acceſſion, from which the Greek Goſpel remained free. It is true that the Hebrew Goſpel ceaſed in this manner to be the unadulterated work of St. Matthew: yet the Nazarenes might ſtill conſider it upon the whole as a ſacred and divine book, more eſpecially if the additional accounts had been derived from the Apoſtles themſelves, as one of the names, by which the Goſpel of the Nazarenes is diſtinguiſhed, appears to imply. For it was called, not only the Goſpel according to St. Matthew, but ſometimes alſo the Goſpel according to the Apoſtles [o].

Beſide the interpolations in the Goſpel of the Nazarenes, it is probable that the Hebrew text differed in many paſſages from the Greek: and therefore, if it were now extant, we might be able to collect from it various readings. Origen, who had acceſs to it, made no critical uſe of it; either becauſe he thought the text too corrupted to be applied in emendation of the Greek, or becauſe he was unwilling to undertake the ſame critical taſk in reſpect to the New Teſtament, as he had done in reſpect to the Old. Jerom, though he tranſlated it, made little or no uſe of it in his Commentary on St. Matthew, either for or againſt the readings of the Greek text. Hence Mill concludes [p], that Jerom himſelf

[o] Evangelium ſecundum Apoſtolos. See the paſſage quoted from Jerom, in the preceding Note *b*.

[p] Prol. §. 42, 43.

himſelf did not believe that the Hebrew Goſpel of the Nazarenes, which he tranſlated, was the Goſpel of St. Matthew. But Jerom, as well as Origen, may have believed it to have been originally the ſame, and yet in conſequence of the alterations which had been made in it, have thought it an unſatisfactory criterion in determining doubtful paſſages of the Greek. Or, what I think ſtill more probable, his neglect of the Goſpel of the Nazarenes may have proceeded from the great haſte in which he dictated his Commentary on St. Matthew[q]. Further, this Commentary, as appears from what he ſays in the Prologue[r], was only a prelude to a more complete work on this ſubject, for which he probably reſerved all his critical diſquiſitions[s]. Moreover, in reſpect to the reading εικη, Matth. v. 22. on which Mill expreſſes his ſurprize, that Jerom did not quote the Goſpel of the Nazarenes, if he believed it to be St. Matthew's original, a particular reaſon may be aſſigned for his neglect on this occaſion. Jerom rejected the word εικη, Matth. v. 22. not for critical reaſons, or becauſe there was authority againſt it, but becauſe it did not ſuit his ſevere ſyſtem of morality, according to which it was a ſin, not only 'to be angry without a cauſe,' but to be angry on any occaſion whatſoever. Suppoſe then Jerom had found in the Hebrew Goſpel of the Nazarenes a word expreſſive of εικη, he was too much the dogmatiſt, and too little the critic, at that paſſage, to have quoted it. Mill's objection[t] therefore,

[q] He ſays in his Prologue to this Commentary, An tu *in duabus hebdomadibus*, imminente jam paſcha, et ſpirantibus ventis, dictare cogis?

[r] Si autem mihi vita longior fuerit, aut tu in redeundo tua promiſſa compleveris, tunc nitar implere quod reliquum eſt: —— ut ſcias, quid interſit inter ſubitam dictandi audaciam, et elucubratam ſcribendi diligentiam.

[s] This more complete commentary, if Jerom ever put his deſign in execution, is not extant.

[t] Prol. § 43.

therefore, that Jerom would hardly have had recourſe to conjecture, to determine the true reading of this paſſage, if he had been really in poſſeſſion of St. Matthew's original, is of no weight. Beſides, caſes may occur, and the preſent appears to be one of them, in which an original is of leſs authority than a tranſlation. Jerom ſuppoſed that εικη was an interpolation: he knew likewiſe that the Hebrew Goſpel abounded with interpolations, and conſequently, if he had found this word in the Hebrew Goſpel, he would not have conſidered it as a proof, that the reading was genuine. This anſwer applies with ſtill greater force to another example quoted by Mill from Matth. xxiv. 36. 'But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.' On this paſſage Jerom obſerves, that in ſome copies the words, 'nor the Son,' were added: but he does not appeal to the Hebrew Goſpel to determine whether they were genuine. Now ſuppoſe he had found theſe words in the Hebrew Goſpel, the queſtion to be aſked is: Ought he, as a critic, to have uſed this as an argument in favour of their authenticity? Certainly not. For ſince many of the Nazarenes denied the divinity of Chriſt, and this very reading has been uſed as an argument againſt the divinity, Jerom muſt neceſſarily have ſuſpected that it was one of the many additions, which had been made to the Hebrew Goſpel.

But at Matth. xxiii. 35. where the inquiry related, not to an addition of one or more words, but merely to the ſubſtitution of one word for another, Jerom really has quoted the Hebrew Goſpel, and moreover for a reading of great importance. Matth. xxiii. 35. runs thus: 'That upon you may come all the righteous blood ſhed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias ſon of Barachias, whom ye ſlew between the temple and the altar.' Now it appears from 2 Chron. xxiv. 20—22. that Zacharias, who was ſlain between the temple and the altar, was the ſon, not of Barachias, but of Jehoiada: conſe-

quently if the account in the Chronicles be accurate[u], the reading Barachias at Matth. xxiii. 35. cannot be the true reading. Some commentators have had recourse to the supposition that Jehoiada and Barachias were different names of the same person: but this assertion is wholly incapable of proof, and is in itself highly improbable. Wetstein conjectures that St. Matthew purposely avoided the use of the word Jehoiada, because it contained in it the abbreviated name of Jehova, and therefore substituted Barachia. But this caution in respect to the abbreviation יה was confined only to the number 15, which it is true the Jews never noted by יה, though Jod is 10, and He is 5. And even if this reverence for יה extended to proper names, Wetstein's solution would be unsatisfactory, for in the Hebrew these two letters occur together in Barachia, as well as in Jehoiada. That Zacharias the eleventh of the

[u] I purposely use this restriction, because I have some doubts in respect to the whole narrative, 2 Chron. xxiv. 15—22. as I have already observed in my note to 2 Kings xii. 20. No mention is made of it in the Books of the Kings, and yet we might suppose that so remarkable an event would hardly have been omitted. The narrative was probably taken from a Medrash or commentary on the Kings, agreeably to what we find ver. 27. of this very chapter of the Chronicles[13]. Besides, the narrative itself begins with an account, which is contradictory to chronology, as I have shewn in the Note to 2 Chron. xxiv. 15. It is possible therefore that Zacharias son of Barachias, and the eleventh of the minor prophets, was the person who was murdered, and that the commentator on the Kings, from whom the account in the Chronicles was derived, misunderstood the fact, and introduced it in an improper place. This supposition is as credible, as that the history of Zacharias, son of Jehoiada, if it be true, should have been omitted in the Book of Kings. It is no objection, that the murder of Zacharias, son of Barachias, is no where recorded in the Old Testament: for between the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah there is an interval of more than thirty years, in which we are totally ignorant of the transactions of the Jews. The difficulty therefore may be solved on the supposition that the account given 2 Chron. xxiv. 15—22. is inaccurate, as easily as on the supposition that the reading Barachias, Matth. xxiii. 35. is spurious. In that case we may consider the story recorded 2 Chron. xxiv. 15—22. as tacitly corrected by Christ.

the minor prophets, who was ſon of Barachias, was murdered, we read no where [14]: and it is not probable that two different perſons named Zacharias, ſhould both of them have been murdered under the very ſame circumſtances. But if we admit that the eleventh of the minor prophets fell a ſacrifice to the Jews, as well as the ſon of Jehoiada, yet Chriſt would rather have inſtanced the ſon of Jehoiada, becauſe the murder of this perſon was not only particularly known, but was ſuppoſed to call aloud for vengeance [x]. The blood therefore of this Zacharias was more properly mentioned with the blood of Abel, than the blood of another Zacharias, whoſe murder, even if he did fall a victim, was unknown [15].—Now at this paſſage Jerom relates, that the Hebrew Goſpel of the Nazarenes read 'Zachâria the ſon of Jehoiada.'

I have already obſerved that though the Ebionites, as well as the Nazarenes, had a Hebrew Goſpel, which was called the Goſpel of St. Matthew, we muſt not therefore conclude that it contained the ſame text as that which the Nazarenes uſed. Of the Goſpel uſed by the Ebionites we have hardly any other information, than that which has been given by Epiphanius, who, as an eccleſiaſtical writer, was far from being of the firſt claſs, and as a critic, muſt be referred to the very loweſt claſs. But on the other hand, he had this advantage, that he was a native of Paleſtine, and underſtood Hebrew. Though he appears not to have ſeen the Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes, and to have derived his knowledge of it merely from the report of others [y], yet it

[x] The Rabbins relate, that when Jeruſalem was taken by the Chaldeans, the blood of the murdered Zacharias iſſued like a fountain, and that it was not appeaſed till Nebuſaradan had made atonement by the ſacrifice of a thouſand Jews. See the quotations made by Wetſtein in his note to this paſſage.

[y] If he had himſelf examined the Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes, he could not have been in doubt, whether it contained the genealogy of Chriſt.

it is highly probable that he himſelf was in poſſeſſion of a copy of the Goſpel uſed by the Ebionites, as he has made ſom it ſeveral extracts, which I ſhall preſently quote.

According to Epiphanius the Goſpel of the Ebionites was different from the Goſpel of the Nazarenes: for he deſcribes the former as having an uncorrupted, the latter a very corrupted text[z]. Of the Nazarenes he ſays[a], 'They likewiſe have the Goſpel of St. Matthew perfectly entire, and in the Hebrew language. For this Goſpel is ſtill preſerved by them, as it was originally written in Hebrew. But I am not certain whether they alſo have omitted the genealogy from Abraham to Chriſt.'[b] Of the Ebionites, on the contrary, he ſays[c], 'In the Goſpel uſed by them, which bears the name of St. Matthew's Goſpel, is however not entire and perfect, but is partly corrupted, partly mutilated (they themſelves call it the Hebrew Goſpel), is related, &c.' It is evident therefore that Epiphanius conſidered the two Goſpels as having a very different text. The latter had been ſo corrupted, that he deſcribes it as being the Goſpel of St. Matthew in name only: and from his ſaying

[z] Jerom on the contrary ſpeaks of the Goſpel uſed by the Ebionites, as if it were the ſame, as the Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes: for in his Note to Matth. xii. 13. he ſays, 'In Evangelio quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitæ, quod,' &c. Perhaps Jerom had never ſeen a copy of the Hebrew Goſpel in the hands of the Ebionites, and therefore ſpoke of them as being the ſame Goſpel, on the report of others, as Epiphanius on the ſame ground deſcribed them as different.

[a] Hæreſ. XXIX. § 9.

[b] As Dr. Maſch objects to this tranſlation, I will print the Greek of Epiphanius unpointed, that the reader may examine without any bias in my favour. Εχουσι δε το κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιον πληρεστατον Εβραϊστι παρ' αυτοις γαρ σαφως τουτο καθως εξ αρχης ιγραφη Εβραϊκοις γραμμασιν ετι σωζεται ην οιδα δε ει και τας γενεαλογιας τας απο του Αβρααμ αχρι Χριστου περιειλον. Before πληρεστατον Caſaubon thought that ην ſhould be ſupplied; but this is not only an arbitrary and unwarrantable alteration, but is likewiſe unſuitable to the context.

[c] Hæreſ. XXX. § 13.

ſaying that the Ebionites called it the Hebrew Goſpel, one might doubt whether the Ebionites themſelves aſcribed to it the name of St. Matthew's Goſpel[d]. On the other hand, though Epiphanius ſays that the Nazarene Goſpel contained St. Matthew's text perfectly entire (πληρες τουτο), we muſt not therefore conclude that it was wholly unadulterated. The word πληρες τουτο Epiphanius probably uſed in the ſame ſenſe as modern critics uſe the phraſe *lectio plenior*, which may, or may not be, more than the original text: and meant only to ſay that the Nazarene Goſpel contained the whole of St. Matthew's text[e], which the Ebionite Goſpel did not, without affirming either directly or indirectly, that the Nazarene Goſpel had not been interpolated. But the interpolations in the Nazarene Goſpel appear to have been of a very different kind from thoſe in the Ebionite Goſpel. In the former, they ſeem to have been ſimply additions in detached places, which left the original text as it was, but only augmented: whereas the Ebionite Goſpel, according to Epiphanius, contained alſo a text, which was itſelf corrupted. Having premiſed theſe accounts I will now produce two paſſages, which Epiphanius has quoted[f] from the Goſpel of the Ebionites, in the words of his Greek tranſlation [16].

The firſt paſſage appears to have been a kind of preface to the Ebionite Goſpel[g], and is as follows.

Εγενετο

[d] Perhaps it had received ſo many additions, as to be no longer the work of one writer.

[e] On the genealogy alone he expreſſes a doubt.

[f] Hæreſ. XXX. § 13.

[g] It is evident that the paſſage which follows can never have been a part of St. Matthew's Goſpel. St. Matthew, when he ſpeaks of himſelf, ſpeaks in the third perſon (ch. ix. 9.), but this paſſage is written in the name of ſeveral in the firſt perſon plural. It was perhaps deſigned as a general preface in the name of the twelve Apoſtles: for the Ebionite Goſpel had among other names, that of the Goſpel of the Apoſtles, being a compoſition probably, which contained

Εγενετο τις ανηρ ονομαλι Ιησους, και αυτος ως ετων τριακοντα[h], ος εξελεξατο ημας. Και ελθων εις Καφαρναουμ εισηλθεν εις την οικιαν Σιμωνος του επικληθεντος Πετρου[i], και ανοιξας το στομα αυτου ειπε, παρερχομενος παρα την λιμνην Τιβεριαδος εξελεξαμην Ιωαννην και Ιακωβον υιους Ζεβεδαιου, και Σιμωνα, και Ανδρεαν, και Θαδδαιον, και Σιμωνα τον Ζηλωτην, και Ιουδαν τον Ισκαριωτην, και σε τον Ματθαιον καθεζομενον επι του τελωνιου εκαλεσα, και ηκολουθησας μοι. Υμας ουν βουλομαι ειναι δεκαδιον[k] Αποστολους εις μαρτυριον του Ισραηλ[l]. Και εγενετο ο Ιωαννης βαπτιζων, και εξηλθον προς αυτον Φαρισαιοι, και εβαπτισθησαν[m], και πασα Ιεροσολυμα·[n] και ειχον ο Ιωαννης ενδυμα απο τριχων καμηλου, και

contained various accounts, ſuppoſed to be derived from the Apoſtles. If we conſider the paſſage in any other light than that of a preface, and regard it as a part of the narrative, it is manifeſtly abſurd: for it makes Chriſt addreſs his Apoſtles, before the baptiſm of John is related.

[h] Theſe are nearly the words of St. Luke, ch. iii. 23. και αυτος ην ο Ιησους ωσει ετων τριακοντα.

[i] This hiſtory is not the ſame as that which is given Matth. viii. 14. where it is related that Jeſus went into the houſe of Peter, but no mention is made of any ſpeech to the Apoſtles. It is one of the additions to this Goſpel, and might poſſibly be true, if St. Matthew's name had not been mentioned, who was not called to be an Apoſtle, till after this viſit in the houſe of Peter.

[k] But only eight Apoſtles are here mentioned by name: for no notice is taken of Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, and James the ſon of Alphæus.

[l] After this place we begin to find traces of St. Matthew's text, though conſiderably abbreviated, as every one will ſee who compares this paſſage with Matth. iii. Perhaps however this conciſe text may be aſcribed to Epiphanius himſelf, who inſtead of giving a literal tranſlation from the Goſpel of the Ebionites, may have inſerted only ſo much of its matter, as was neceſſary for the purpoſe of his quotation.

[m] Theſe words agree exactly with Mark i. 4.

[n] Here the Phariſees are mentioned firſt, and then the inhabitants of Jeruſalem in general, as if the Phariſees had ſet the example: whereas in our Goſpels the Phariſees are mentioned laſt, which ſhews that they only followed the multitude. If Epiphanius has adhered cloſely to his original, this inverſion in the Goſpel of the Ebionites,

και ζωνην δερμαΐνην περι την οσφυν αυΐε· και το βρωμα αυΐε (φησι) μελι αγριον[o], ε η γευσις ην ως μαννα, ως εγκρις εν ελαιω[p].—On theſe laſt words Epiphanius immediately obſerves, ινα δηθεν μεταχρεψωσι τον της αληθειας λογον εις ψευδος, και αντι ακριδων ποιησωσιν εγκριδας εν μελιτι[q].

The

may have been owing to their reſpect for the Phariſees. Perhaps the ſame motive induced them to omit St. John's ſevere cenſure of that ſect.—Further, in the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew, John's dreſs and manner of life are deſcribed before mention is made of baptiſm: but in the Ebionite Goſpel the latter is mentioned firſt, as in the Goſpel of St. Mark.

[o] This account of John's dreſs and manner of life agrees with Matth. iii. 4. except that in the Goſpel of the Ebionites no mention is made of locuſts as a part of John's diet, for which I can aſſign no other reaſon, than that animal food was thought unſuitable to the ſevere life of the Baptiſt. That βρωμα is uſed, and not τροφη as at Matth. iii. 4. makes no difference; for both βρωμα and τροφη can be expreſſed by the ſame Hebrew word.

[p] This is ſimilar to Exod. xvi. 31. το δε γευμα αυτου ως εγκρις εν μελιτι: and Numb. xi. 8. και ην η ηδυ ως γευμα εγκρις εν ελαιω.

[q] This obſervation of Epiphanius is not conſiſtent with his quotation, in which John's food is deſcribed as being wild honey alone, which is compared, in reſpect to its taſte, with manna, or with a cake baked in oil, (ως εγκρις εν ελαιω). But the obſervation of Epiphanius implies that in the Goſpel of the Ebionites John's food was deſcribed as being 'wild honey *and* cakes,' inſtead of 'wild honey and locuſts,' as in St. Matthew: for he ſays that the Ebionites had converted ακριδες into εγκριδες εν μελιτι. Whether the obſervation of Epiphanius be juſt, and conſequently his quotation inaccurate, or the reverſe, I will not pretend to determine. We muſt recollect however that, as the Ebionite Goſpel was not written in Greek, an accidental exchange of εγκριδες for ακριδες could not have taken place in the Goſpel itſelf: for the Hebrew name of εγκρις and ακρις are too unlike to admit of an accidental exchange. Unleſs therefore Epiphanius has made a very uncritical conjecture, the confuſion can be explained on no other hypotheſis, than that the Ebionite Goſpel was a compoſition or harmony formed out of ſeveral Goſpels, of which one or more were written in Greek, and that the fabricator, miſtaking ακριδες for εγκριδες, tranſlated it into Chaldee by 'cakes' inſtead of 'locuſts.' On the other hand, it is no impoſſible that the conjecture is totally ungrounded.

The Goſpel itſelf, according to Epiphanius[s], began thus. Εγενέτο εν ταις ημεραις Ηρωδε τε βασιλεως της Ιεδαιας, ηλθεν Ιωαννης βαπτιζων βαπτισμα μετανοιας εν τω Ιορδανη ποταμω[a], ος ελεγετο ειναι εκ γενες Ααρων τε ιερεως, υιος Ζαχαριε και Ελισαβετ[t], και εξηρχοντο προς αυτον πανες. Here Epiphanius obſerves, that after an interval, in which ſeveral things were mentioned, the Goſpel proceeded as follows. Τε λαε βαπτισθεντος ηλθε και Ιησες, και εβαπτισθη απο τε Ιωαννε, και ως ανηλθεν απο τε υδατος ηνοιχθησαν οι ερανοι, και ειδε το πνευμα τε Θεε το αγιον[u] εν ειδει περιστερας καταελθεσης και εισελθεσης εις αυτον[x]· και φωνη εγενετο εκ τε ερανε, λεγεσα· συ με ει ο υιος ο αγαπητος, εν σοι ηυδοκησα.

[s] Hæreſ. XXX. § 13. The paſſage here quoted, which Epiphanius introduces with the words Η δε αρχη τε παρ' αυτοις ευαγγελιε εχει, immediately follows in Epiphanius that which I have juſt given, from which one might ſuppoſe that the firſt was a kind of preface. Yet it contains a part of the hiſtory recorded in the third chapter of St. Matthew's Goſpel, which was not wanting in the Ebionite Goſpel. Epiphanius is ſo very conciſe on this ſubject, that it is difficult to determine the real ſtate of the caſe.

[a] This ſtrange hiſtorical blunder, which makes John the Baptiſt preach in the time of Herod king of Judæa, who had been dead nearly thirty years, when John began to preach, is a very ſufficient proof that St. Matthew was not the author of this paſſage: for no man who was a contemporary with John could have imagined that Herod was then king of Judæa. The paſſage appears to have been fabricated by an abſurd compoſition of two different paſſages in St. Luke's Goſpel[17], namely ch. i. 5. and iii. 1, 2, 3. In like manner the words βαπτιζων βαπτισμα μετανοιας εν τω Ιορδανη ποταμω appear to have been put together from Mark i. 4. and Matth. iii. 6.

[t] From the expreſſion ελεγετο ειναι one might conclude that the author of this paſſage doubted, whether John was really the ſon of Zacharias and Elizabeth, and whether he had not a divine origin.

[u] At Matth. iii. 15. is το πνευμα τε Θεε, Luke iii. 22. το πνευμα το αγιον. The author of this paſſage in the Ebionite Goſpel has put them both together and written το πνευμα τε Θεε το αγιον. This inſtance again betrays a compoſition from ſeveral Goſpels[18].

[x] Here we diſcover ſome traces of St. Matthew's text, ch. iii. 16. κατεβαινον ωσει περιστεραν, και ερχομενον επ' αυτον: though in the Ebionite Goſpel more is ſaid than St. Matthew meant.

ηυδοκησα. και παλιν, εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε[y]. Και ευθυς περιελαμψε τον τοπον φως μεγα. Ον ιδων[z] (φησιν) ο Ιωαννης λεγει αυτω· συ τις ει, Κυριε; και παλιν φωνη εξ ουρανου προς αυτον· ουτος εστιν ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος, εφ ον ηυδοκησα[a]. Και τοτε (φησιν) ο Ιωαννης προσπεσων αυτω ελεγε· δεομαι σου, Κυριε, συ με βαπτισον. Ο δε εκωλυεν αυτον[b] λεγων· αφες, οτι ουτως εστι πρεπον πληρωθηναι παντα.

It appears from the preceding extracts from the Ebionite Goſpel, that it was not the original Goſpel of St. Matthew, but on the contrary that it was a compoſition, put together partly from St. Matthew's, and partly from the other Goſpels. The Nazarene Goſpel therefore, which, according to Jerom, was St. Matthew's original[c], muſt have been very different from the Ebionite

[y] By none of the Evangeliſts are the words εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε, ſaid to have been uttered at the baptiſm of Chriſt[19]. They are an interpolation in the Ebionite Goſpel, and are derived from the falſe notion, which prevailed in the firſt century, that Chriſt was a mere man till the time of his baptiſm, and that he then became the Son of God, and filled with the Holy Ghoſt.

[z] Here the pronoun relative, which refers to φως, and therefore ought to be neuter, is of the maſculine gender, perhaps becauſe the light is ſuppoſed to repreſent the Deity. This however muſt be aſcribed to Epiphanius the tranſlator, for in the Ebionite Goſpel no ſuch diſtinction could have been made, as neither Hebrew nor Syriac has a neuter gender[20].

[a] The Evangeliſts mention only one utterance from Heaven, at the baptiſm of Chriſt: which St. Matthew has in the third perſon, Ουτος εστιν ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος, εν ω ευδοκησα, but St. Luke in the ſecond perſon, Συ ει ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος, εν σοι ηυδοκησα. The Ebionite Goſpel has both of theſe expreſſions, and betrays therefore a compoſition from the Goſpels of St. Matthew and St. Luke[21].

[b] Here εκωλυεν αυτον is ſaid of Chriſt, which is the very reverſe of Matth. iii. 14. where we find Ο δε Ιωαννης διεκωλυεν αυτον.

[c] Jerom ſpeaks indeed on this ſubject ſometimes only in the name of others, and ſays of the Nazarene Goſpel, 'Quod vocatur a pleriſque Matthæi authenticum.' But in his Catalogue of Illuſtrious Men (Tom. IV. p. 102. ed. Martianay), he ſpeaks in his own name, and ſays in poſitive terms that the Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes was St. Matthew's original. 'Matthæus qui et Levi ex publicano Apoſtolus,

Ebionite Goſpel. For it is hardly credible, if the Nazarene Goſpel had differed from the Greek text of St. Matthew, as much as the Ebionite Goſpel, that Jerom, who tranſcribed and tranſlated it, could have taken it, even after deducting the interpolations, for the original of St. Matthew's Goſpel. It is true that Jerom makes no diſtinction between the Nazarene and the Ebionite Goſpel: for he ſays in his note to Matth. xii. 13. In Evangelio quo utuntur Nazaræni et Ebionitæ—quod vocatur a pleriſque Matthæi authenticum. But we muſt recollect that Jerom never ſaw the Hebrew Goſpel which was uſed by the Ebionites: he was acquainted only with that which was uſed by the Nazarenes, and therefore had no opportunity of comparing the one with the other. Through want of knowledge then he might ſuppoſe that they were the ſame, though they were really different. But he was not expoſed to the danger of any ſuch miſtake in regard to the Nazarene Goſpel and the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew: for he had both of them in his own poſſeſſion, was fully acquainted with the contents of both, and therefore, if they had been materially different, he could not have even doubted on the ſubject. However, I am far from ſuppoſing that Jerom took the Nazarene Goſpel for the *unadulterated* original, as it is evident from the quotations, which he has made from it, that it abounded with interpolations. For that reaſon he has not quoted the Nazarene Goſpel as canonical authority: but on the other hand he quotes it in his Commentary on St. Matthew without any expreſſions of diſreſpect, and at the beginning of his third book againſt the Pelagians[d], he

tolus primus in Judæa, propter eos qui ex circumciſione crediderant, Evangelium Chriſti Hebraicis literis verbiſque compoſuit: quod qui poſtea in Græcum tranſtulerit non ſatis certum eſt. *Porro ipſum Hebraicum* habetur, uſque hodie in Cæſarienſi bibliotheca, quam Pamphilus Martyr ſtudioſiſſime confecit. [d] Mihi quoque a Nazaræis, qui in Beræa urbe Syriæ, *hoc volumine utuntur*, deſcribendi facultas fuit.

[d] Tom. IV. p. 533. ed. Martianay.

he ſays, Quibus teſtimoniis ſi non uteris ad auctoritatem, utere ſaltem ad antiquitatem, quid omnes viri eccleſiaſtici ſenſerint.

On the other hand I admit that Jerom is far from being conſiſtent and uniform in his accounts of the Nazarene Goſpel: for though he declares in poſitive terms, as appears from the preceding quotation, that it was St. Matthew's original [22], yet at other times he writes as if he had not a thorough conviction of the truth of this aſſertion. For inſtance in his Commentary on St. Matthew, ch. vi. 11. where he had tranſlated τον αρτον ημων τον επιουσιον by *panem noſtrum ſuperſubſtantialem*, he ſays, 'Quod nos *ſuperſubſtantialem* expreſſimus, in Græco habetur επιουσιον, quod verbum LXX. περιουσιου frequentiſſime transferunt. Conſideravimus ergo in Hebræo, et ubicunque illi περιουσιον expreſſerunt, nos invenimus *Sgolla*[e], quod Symmachus εξαιρετον, id eſt, *præcipuum*, vel *egregium* tranſtulit, licet in quodam loco *peculiare* interpretatus ſit. Quando ergo petimus, ut peculiarem vel præcipuum nobis deus tribuat panem, illum petimus qui dicit, Ego ſum panis vivus, qui de cœlo deſcendi. In Evangelio, quod appellatur ſecundum Hebræos, pro *ſuperſubſtantiali pane* reperi *Mahar*[f], quod dicitur *craſtinum*; id eſt, futurum da nobis hodie.' Here Jerom acknowledges that where επιουσιον is uſed in the Greek Goſpel of St. Matthew, מחר was uſed in the Hebrew [23]: yet inſtead of altering the old Latin tranſlation *panem noſtrum quotidianum* to *panem noſtrum in diem craſtinum*, he alters it to *panem noſtrum ſuperſubſtantialem*. As Jerom then rejected here the reading of the Hebrew Goſpel, one might conclude that he at leaſt doubted, whether it was St. Matthew's original. However the inference is not ſo certain, as it appears to be. For Jerom manifeſtly ſacrifices the rules of criticiſms to his paſſion for ſpiritualizing the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer. Jerom thought it not ſufficient to pray for earthly bread, and conſequently worked out of επιουσιος the

[e] חגלה. [f] מחר.

the ſenſe of *ſuperſubſtantialis*. That he abandoned therefore in this inſtance the reading of the Hebrew Goſpel will not decide againſt it.

In the Prologue to Jerom's Commentary on St. Matthew, there is another paſſage, which, at firſt ſight, appears to be ſtill more formidable than the preceding. 'Plures fuiſſe, qui Evangelia ſcripſerunt, et Lucas Evangeliſta teſtatur,—et perſeverantia uſque ad præſens tempus monimenta declarant; quæa a diverſis auctoribus edita diverſarum hæreſeon fuere principia; ut eſt illud juxta Ægyptios, et Thomam, et M-tthiam, et Bartholomæum, *duodecim quoque Apoſtolorum.* Here it cannot be denied that Jerom refers the Goſpel which bore the title of Evangelium ſecundum Apoſtolos, to the claſs of apocryphal Goſpels. Further, he himſelf relates[g], that the Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes had among other names that of Evangelium ſecundum Apoſtolos. He condemns therefore in the paſſage juſt quoted the Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes as apocryphal: which appears to be a direct contradiction to his other aſſertion, that the Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes was St. Matthew's Hebrew original[h]. We muſt either ſuppoſe therefore that Jerom was ſo forgetful and inconſiſtent as no man in his ſenſes can well be, or there muſt be ſome method of reconciling theſe contradictory accounts. Now I can ſee no other method of reconciling them than the following: that Jerom really believed, that the Hebrew Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes was, in its primitive and unadulterated ſtate, the work of St. Matthew, but that in a courſe of years it had received ſo many additions, containing accounts pretended to have been derived from the Apoſtles, (whence the name of Evangelium ſecundum Apoſtolos was given it) as

[g] Adv. Pelagianos, Lib. III. The words have been already quoted.

[h] See the paſſage quoted in the preceding note (c).

as to induce Jerom to rank it among the apocryphal Goſpels.

Origen, as appears from a paſſage already quoted[i], makes likewiſe a diſtinction between the Goſpel, which was called Evangelium ſecundum Apoſtolos, and the Goſpel of St. Matthew: ſaying, that the latter was written by inſpiration, but not the former. Now whether Origen believed that this Hebrew Goſpel which was uſed by the Nazarenes, was originally the work of St. Matthew, but that it had ceaſed to deſerve the title of St. Matthew's Goſpel in conſequence of its numerous interpolations; or whether he believed that the Hebrew Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes was from the very firſt, a diſtinct compoſition from the Hebrew Goſpel of St. Matthew, I will not undertake to determine. But this I may venture to aſſert, that Origen's rejection of the Nazarene Goſpel as a work deſtitute of canonical authority, will not prove that he adopted the latter opinion: for Origen may have been influenced by the very ſame motive, as that which induced Jerom to reject at one time, as apocryphal, a work, which at another time he had called St. Matthew's original.

The celebrated chapter in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Euſebius[k] where a catalogue is given of the canonical and uncanonical books of the New Teſtament, has been ſo differently interpreted, as to give ſometimes a favourable, at other times an unfavourable reſult for the Hebrew Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes, or as it is frequently called, the Goſpel according to the Hebrews. The expreſſions uſed by Euſebius are certainly ambiguous: yet after an attentive peruſal of the paſſage, it appears to me that what Euſebius has ſaid of this Goſpel is much more in its favour than the contrary. Euſebius divides the real and pretended books of the New Teſtament into three ſeparate claſſes, which he calls ομολογουμενα, αντιλεγομενα, and νοθα, and arranges the books, which

[i] In the fifth ſection of this chapter.

[k] Lib. III. cap. 25.

which belong to theſe reſpective claſſes, in the following manner[24]. Ευλογον δ' ενλαυθα γενομενης ανακεφαλαιωσασθαι τας δηλωθεισας της καινης διαθηκης γραφας· και δη τακλεον εν πρωτοις την αγιαν των Ευαγγελιων τετρακλυν· οις επεται η των πραξεων των Αποστολων γραφη· μετα δε ταυτην, τας Παυλε καταλεκτεον επιστολας· αις εξης την φερομενην Ιωαννε προτεραν, και ομοιως την Πετρε κυρωτεον επιστολην· επι τετοις τακτεον, ειγε φανειη, την Αποκαλυψιν Ιωαννε, περι ης τα δοξαντα καταν καιρον εκθησομεθα· και ταυτα μεν εν ομολογεμενοις. Των δ' αντιλεγομενων, γνωριμων δ' ομως τοις πολλοις ἡ λεγομενη Ιακωβε φερεται; και η Ιυδα, τινε Πετρε δευτερα επιστολη, και η ονομαζομενη δευτερα και τριτη Ιωαννε, ειτε τε Ευαγγελιστε τυγχανεσι, ειτε και ετερε ομωνυμε εκεινω. Εν τοις νοθοις καταλελαχθω και των Παυλε πραξεων η γραφη, ο τε λεγομενος Ποιμην, και η Αποκαλυψις Πετρε, και προς τετοις η φερομενη Βαρναβα επιστολη, και των Αποστολων αι λεγομεναι· ετι τε, ως εφην, η Ιωαννε Αποκαλυψις, ει φανειη, ην τινες ως εφην αθετεσιν, ετεροι δε εγκρινεσι τοις ομολογεμενοις· ηδη δ' εν τετοις τινες και το καθ' Εβραιες ευαγγελιον καταλελεξαν, ω μαλιστα Εβραιων οι τον Χριστον παραδεξαμενοι χαιρεσι. Ταυτα μεν ουν των αντιλεγομενων αν ειη.

Here it is difficult to determine preciſely what Euſebius intended to affirm of the Goſpel according to the Hebrews, becauſe it is uncertain to what antecedent he meant to refer the relative τετοις. He ſays, εν τετοις τινες και το καθ' Εβραιες ευαγγελιον καταλελεξαν, to which the immediate antecedent is ομολογεμενοις, but the remote antecedent νοθοις. He has therefore not clearly explained, whether the Goſpel according to the Hebrews was ranked by ſome (τινες) among the ομολογεμενα, or among the νοθα. If they ranked it among the νοθα, they may have rejected it merely on account of its interpolations, and therefore this rejection will not prove that the Goſpel according to the Hebrews was originally a different work from the Hebrew Goſpel of St. Matthew. On the other hand, if they ranked it among the ομολογεμενα, they muſt have conſidered this Hebrew Goſpel with exception perhaps to its interpolations, as the original of St. Matthew's Goſpel. Which of the two

inter-

interpretations is the right one, I will not pretend to determine, though Dr. Maſch is decidedly of opinion that the former alone is admiſſible[l]. Equally uncertain is the opinion of thoſe who differed from the few (τινες) whoſe ſentiments Euſebius has delivered on the Hebrew Goſpel. If theſe (τινες) referred it to the ομολογουμενα, the majority refuſed it this honour, and probably on account of its interpolations. If the few (τινες) referred it to the νοθα, as Dr. Maſch aſſerts, the queſtion then to be aſked is, to what claſs did the others, who conſtituted the majority, refer it? Now it appears to me, that if the few referred it to the νοθα, the majority muſt have referred it to the ομολογουμενα, and conſequently have conſidered as St. Matthew's original, agreeably to what Jerom ſays, Vocatur *a pleriſque* Matthæi authenticum[m]. But Dr. Maſch, who aſſerts the premiſes, denies the inference, and aſſerts that the few placed it among the νοθα, but that the majority placed it, not in a higher, but in a ſtill lower claſs than the νοθα. To make this inference at leaſt plauſible, he ſays, (what I ſhall certainly not diſpute) that Euſebius, after having enumerated the ομολογουμενα, αντιλεγομενα, and νοθα, mentions a fourth claſs of books, which calls αλοπα παντη και δυσσεβη, and deſcribes as undeſerving of a place even among the νοθα. To this fourth claſs of totally worthleſs, and impious books, ſays Dr. Maſch, did the majority, according to Euſebius, refer the Goſpel according to the Hebrews. But this inference is

[l] He argues, p. 200, from the arrangement obſerved by Euſebius in the diſtribution of the ſeveral books into ομολογουμενα, αντιλεγομενα, and νοθα: and contends, that, as Euſebius has mentioned the Goſpel according to the Hebrews in the claſs of the νοθα, it would be a total violation of order, if we referred τουτοις to the word ομολογουμενοις, which he had introduced as a mere remark in treating of the νοθα. Now I admit, that this argument would be valid, if it were applied to a writer, whoſe accuracy in the arrangement of his materials admitted of no doubt: but the deſcription, which Euſebius has given in this chapter, is really ſo confuſed, that we cannot argue merely from the arrangement of its ſeveral parts.

[m] See his Note to Matth. xii. 13.

is contrary to the teſtimony of every eccleſiaſtical writer on this Goſpel, for not one has deſcribed it as a totally worthleſs and impious book, but on the contrary they ſpeak of it in general with great reſpect. Origen, it is true, did not admit its inſpiration: yet he frequently quoted it, though not as ſcripture authority, yet by way of illuſtration and in ſupport of his arguments[n]. Epiphanius is very far from ſpeaking of the Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes in diſreſpectful terms, and Jerom thought it of ſufficient importance to merit a tranſlation. Both of theſe writers indeed lived ſomewhat later than Euſebius, but if a favourable opinion was entertained of this Goſpel in the time of Jerom and Epiphanius, we can hardly ſuppoſe that it was treated half a century before, as worthleſs and impious. Even the interpolations in this Goſpel, as far as we are acquainted with them, by no means deſerve theſe epithets: and therefore I am perſuaded that it was not the intention of Euſebius to ſay, that the majority referred the Goſpel in queſtion to the αλογα παντη και δυσσεβη[25]. Dr. Maſch objects[o], that the majority could not poſſibly have placed this Goſpel among the ομολογουμενα, becauſe the majority of the Chriſtians in the time of Euſebius were not acquainted with it. But this argument proves nothing: for the majority of Chriſtians in the time of Euſebius were no more acquainted with the Hebrew Bible, than with the Hebrew Goſpel, their want of knowledge of it proceeding from their ignorance of the language in which it was written. That the majority therefore did not make uſe of the Hebrew Goſpel, will not prove that they abſolutely rejected it.—But whatever was the opinion of the few or of the many in reſpect to the Goſpel in queſtion, the opinion, which Euſebius himſelf

[n] Origen ſays, (Tract. VIII. in Matth. Tom. I. p. 73.) Scriptum eſt in Evangelio quodam, quod dicitur ſecundum Hebræos; ſi tamen placet alicui recipere illud non ad auctoritatem, ſed ad manifeſtationem propoſitæ quæſtionis, &c.

[o] Page 194.

himſelf entertained of it was certainly in its favour. For immediately after the account which he has given of this Goſpel, he adds, ταῦτα μεν παῦλα των αντιλεγομενων αν ειη. He places therefore the Goſpel according to the Hebrews, that is, the Goſpel uſed by the Nazarenes, in the ſame rank, not only with the Apocalypſe, but with the Epiſtle of St. James, the ſecond Epiſtle of St. Peter, the ſecond and third of St. John, and the Epiſtle of St. Jude.

Before I conclude my account of the authors, who have either deſcribed or quoted the Hebrew Goſpel of the Nazarenes, I muſt take notice of a paſſage, which I have already quoted from Ignatius. This father, in the third chapter of his Epiſtle to the Chriſtians of Smyrna, where he defends the manhood of Chriſt againſt the Docetæ, has the following paſſage: Εγω γαρ μετα την αναστασιν εν σαρκι αυτου οιδα, και πιστευω ουτα. Και οτε προς τους περι Πέτρον ηλθεν, εφη αυτοις. λαβετε ψηλαφησατε με, και ιδετε οτι ουκ ειμι δαιμονιον ασωματον· και ευθυς αυτου ηψαντο, και επιστευσαν, κραθεντες τω σαρκι αυτου και τω πνευματι. This paſſage was according to Jerom[p] in the Goſpel of the Nazarenes, and he conſiders it as a certain fact that Ignatius quoted it from this Goſpel. But Ignatius does not ſay that it was a quotation from this or from any other Goſpel. And therefore it is at leaſt poſſible that this paſſage, inſtead of having been quoted by Ignatius from the Goſpel of the Nazarenes, was interpolated in this Goſpel from the Epiſtle of Ignatius, who probably derived his information from converſation with the Apoſtles. I am ſurpriſed that this has never occurred to any critic, as the fact is not only poſſible, but in my opinion highly probable, if not abſolutely certain[20]. In this opinion I am confirmed by the circumſtance, that this paſſage as worded in the Goſpel of the Nazarenes, betrays a tranſlation from the Greek. Ignatius writes προς τους περι Πέτρον ηλθε, which literally tranſlated ſignifies 'he came to thoſe who were with Peter,' but according to the uſage of the Greek language denotes ſimply,

[p] Catalog. ſcriptor. eccleſiaſtic. ſ. v. Ignatius.

ſimply, 'he came to Peter.' Now according to Jerom this paſſage was worded thus in the Goſpel of the Nazarenes: 'he came to Peter, and to thoſe who were with Peter,' which betrays a twofold tranſlation from the Greek προς τους περι Πετρον ηλθε, a correct one, 'he came to Peter,' and an incorrect one 'he came to thoſe who were with Peter[27].' Ignatius therefore cannot be produced as evidence for the antiquity and authority of the Goſpel of the Nazarenes, though he may be conſidered as a voucher for the truth of this narration which is contained in it. And from this very example we may perceive in what manner the interpolations in the Nazarene Goſpel took their riſe, namely by adding to the original text of St. Matthew, whatever accounts could be procured from good authority relating to Chriſt.

The hiſtory of the Nazarene Goſpel may be briefly ſummed up under the following heads

1. Very few eccleſiaſtical writers have taken notice of this Goſpel[28]: at which we have no reaſon to be ſurpriſed as few of them underſtood Hebrew, and no tranſlation of it had been made before that of Jerom. Beſides, the copies of it were very ſcarce even in Paleſtine, for Jerom mentions it as an unuſual book, which he found in the library of Cæſarea[29].

2. However its name and chararacter were not unknown; though it is difficult to determine, what the majority of Chriſtians in the three firſt centuries thought of it, becauſe Euſebius has expreſſed himſelf in ambiguous terms. In the fifth century moſt perſons believed it to be the original of St. Matthew's Goſpel: but whether they knew that it was interpolated, and diſtinguiſhed the genuine text from its additions, we are not informed.

3. Ignatius does not mention the name of this Goſpel: he has a paſſage indeed, which exiſted in this Goſpel, but that paſſage, as I have already ſhewn, was inſerted in the Nazarene Goſpel from the Epiſtle of Ignatius,

Ignatius, and not quoted by Ignatius from this Goſpel[30].

4. It is quoted more than once by Origen, as ancient though not as ſcripture authority; for he conſidered it, probably on account of its interpolations, as a mere human compoſition, but he is far from ſpeaking of it in terms of diſreſpect. What he thought of its genuine text, when ſeparated from the interpolations, he has no where mentioned.

5. Euſebius refers it to the ἀντιλεγομενα, and places it in the ſame rank with the Epiſtle of St. James, the ſecond Epiſtle of St. Peter, the ſecond and third of St. John, the Epiſtle of St. Jude, and the Apocalypſe.

6. Epiphanius deſcribes the Nazarene Goſpel, as St. Matthew's original: but he does not appear to have ſeen it himſelf, and therefore he probably followed the common opinion.

7. Jerom was well acquainted with it, and deſcribes it as St. Matthew's original. It is true that in one paſſage, in his curſory Preface to St. Matthew's Goſpel, he ſpeaks of it under the name of the Goſpel of the twelve Apoſtles, in diſreſpectful terms. But he had probably the interpolations only in view, when he caſt this cenſure upon it, and did not mean to reflect on the genuine text. Nay the interpolations themſelves he has at other times quoted without the ſmalleſt diſapprobation, and in his controverſy with the Pelagians he has produced them even as authority.

After all then, that has been ſaid on this ſubject, we ſee that Jerom is the only eccleſiaſtical writer, who had ſufficient knowledge of the Nazarene Goſpel, to furniſh us with certain information. By his report therefore I ſhall abide, and ſhall conſider the Nazarene Goſpel as St. Matthew's original, augmented indeed with many additions, which, though they are ſo far ſpurious, that they did not proceed from the pen of St. Matthew, who wrote the Goſpel itſelf, were derived probably from good authority, and therefore may be

be historically, though not critically, true. Absolute certainty on this subject is not to be expected, since Jerom's translation, as well as the Hebrew Gospel itself is unfortunately lost: we must therefore content ourselves with probabilities, and, though we are in danger of falling into error, must argue from the few documents, which are now extant[31].

If the original had descended to the present age, it would have been of great use both to critics and commentators, as appears from one of its readings, which Jerom has quoted at Matth. vi. 11. In this passage the Greek text is, Τον αρτον ημων τον επιουσιον δος ημιν σημερον, which in our version is rendered, 'Give us this day our daily bread.' Now the word επιουσιος is a very unusual word, and hence various commentators have given various explanations of it. Among other interpretations, ο επιουσιος has been explained as denoting ο της επιουσης ημερας: and consequently the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer, as signifying, 'Give us this day our bread for the morrow.' This interpretation, which is in itself highly probable, is confirmed as the true one, by the word used in the Nazarene Gospel, if this Gospel is St. Matthew's original: for Jerom relates that for επιουσιον in the Greek Gospel, the Nazarene Gospel had מחר, which denotes *dies crastinus*[q]. To petition the

[q] Dr. Masch (p. 207—211.) conjectures that the word used in the Nazarene Gospel was not מחר, but מהר with an He and not Heth, and that Jerom in the hurry of copying mistook ח for ה. He is of opinion that if מחר had stood in the original, no Greek translator of the two first centuries would have rendered it by επιουσιος, because this word does not occur in that sense in any writer of the two first centuries. But according to Origen the word επιουσιος did not occur in this or any other sense, except in the Lord's Prayer, for he says the word was peculiar to the Evangelists. See Wetstein's Note to Matt. vi. 11. This argument therefore would prove too much. On the contrary, it appears to me, that, if מהר was the word used by Christ, επιουσιον is a translation which we might not unreasonably expect from the Evangelists, because η επιουσα is used in the New Testament to denote the 'day following.' That the Syriac translator has used a different word for επιουσιον will not prove that מחר was not used in the original of the Lord's Prayer, for the Syriac translator may have misunderstood the Greek in this passage, as he has done in many others.

the Deity to give us each day what is neceſſary for the morrow is ſurely more ſuitable to our wants, than to requeſt him to give us what is neceſſary for the day, on which we make the petition, ſince it generally happens that the wants of that day are already ſupplied. Chriſt therefore, who has taught us not to be anxious for the morrow, has commanded us to rely on our heavenly Father, and to petition him that he would grant to day what is neceſſary for the morrow, that we may await the approach of each ſubſequent day without fear or anxiety.

The preceding example may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the exegetical uſe, which might be made of the Nazarene Goſpel, were it now extant. To illuſtrate its critical uſe, in determining the authenticity or ſpuriouſneſs of doubtful paſſages, we may apply it to the two firſt chapters of St. Matthew's Goſpel, on which doubts are entertained, whether they really proceeded from the pen of the Evangeliſt. It appears from the accounts of Epiphanius, which have been already quoted, that in the Hebrew Goſpel uſed by the Ebionites, the genealogy was certainly wanting; and perhaps the whole of the two firſt chapters[32]. Tatian likewiſe, who is ſaid to have uſed the Hebrew Goſpel omitted the genealogy: in two Capitulations and a Breviary publiſhed by Martianay it is wholly unnoticed: and the Codex Ebnerianus, which I have deſcribed in the Catalogue of the Greek Manuſcripts[r], begins St. Matthew's Goſpel with the eighteenth verſe of the firſt chapter[33]. There are likewiſe internal marks, which render it at leaſt doubtful, whether the genealogy was written by the ſame perſon, who wrote the reſt of the Goſpel. For inſtance ver. 6. Ιεσσαι εγεννησε Δαβιδ τον βασιλεα is copied (contrary to the common cuſtom in St. Matthew's Goſpel) not from the Hebrew, but from the Greek, book of Ruth ch. iv. 22. where we find Ιεσσαι εγεννησε Δαβιδ τον βασιλεα, whereas the Hebrew has ſimply ישי הוליד את דוד, without any word expreſſive of

[r] Vol. II. Ch. viii. Sect. 6. N°. 116.

of τον βασιλεα[14]. Doubts of this kind might be either removed or confirmed by the Nazarene Goſpel, were it now extant, and were we abſolutely certain that it contained the original text of St. Matthew. But our imperfect accounts of this Goſpel make it difficult to determine whether it began in the ſame manner as our Greek Goſpel, or whether it began at the eighteenth verſe of the firſt chapter, or whether it commenced with what is now our third chapter[15].

On the other hand, though it were true that the two firſt chapters did not exiſt in St. Matthew's Hebrew original, they would not therefore deſerve to be rejected as a falſe and ſpurious production. If St. Matthew gave no account of the birth of Chriſt in his Goſpel, he may have written a ſeparate work on that ſubject, with the title Βιβλος γενεσεως Ιησα Χριςε, which when tranſlated into Greek may have been prefixed to his Goſpel, leſt ſo ſmall a work, if written ſeparately, ſhould be loſt. The canonical authority therefore of theſe two chapters is not neceſſarily affected, even if the Hebrew Goſpel did not contain them: though I admit that the proof of their canonicity would be more complete, if we could ſhew, that they exiſted in the original Goſpel. No two chapters in the whole New Teſtament are preſſed with ſo many difficulties, as the two in queſtion: not ſo much on account of the apparent contradictions to the genealogy given by St. Luke, which may be very ſatisfactorily reconciled, as on account of the quotations contained in them from the Old Teſtament, which I am wholly unable to explain. The account likewiſe given ch. i. 5. that Rahab was the mother of Boaz, and conſequently that David was deſcended from her, appears to be very uncertain, becauſe in the genealogical table of David's anceſtors, which is given in the book of Ruth[s], and in the firſt book of the Chronicles[t], no mention is made of any ſuch perſon as Rahab: nor is it ſaid in the book of Joſhua,

[s] Ch. iv. 21. [t] Ch. ii. 11.

Joſhua[u], where the hiſtory of Rahab is related, that ſhe married the father of Boaz[16]. Since therefore the Old Teſtament is ſilent on this ſubject, the writer of the genealogy could have derived his information from no other ſource than Jewiſh tradition. But we find no ſuch report among the Jewiſh writers. On the contrary, it appears from the quotations made by Wetſtein, that among the deſcendants of Rahab were ſeveral prieſts: whence we might ſuppoſe that ſhe married rather into the tribe of Levi, than into the tribe of Judah[17]. Should any critic therefore, in conſequence of theſe difficulties be diſpoſed to ſeparate the two firſt chapters from the reſt of St. Matthew's Goſpel, in order to prevent the objections which may be made to them from affecting the credibility and inſpiration of the whole Goſpel, I ſhould not cenſure him for his conduct, though for my own part I am unable to come to a poſitive deciſion, whether they ought to be ſeparated or not. At any rate, if they were not written by St. Matthew, they were certainly written before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem: for after that period, the Goſpel of St. Luke muſt have been ſo generally known as to have ſuperſeded the neceſſity of another genealogy. Beſides, if this genealogy had been fabricated in a later age, the author of it would have taken care to have avoided even the appearance of a contradiction to the genealogy of St. Luke. Nor muſt we forget, that the two firſt chapters, as well as the remaining part of the Goſpel, have been uniformly handed down by the ancient church, as the work of St. Matthew[18].

[u] Ch. vi. 25.

SECT. X.

Of the Hebrew Goſpel of St. Matthew, which was publiſhed by Sebaſtian Münſter: and of the edition publiſhed by John Tilet.

WE have two editions of a Hebrew Goſpel in print: but it is certain that neither of them is St. Matthew's original, and that neither of them was uſed either by the Nazarenes or by the Ebionites. Of Münſter's edition I can make this aſſertion from actual examination, for I have found that it has none of the diſtinguiſhing paſſages of the Nazarene Goſpel: and they who have examined Tilet's edition, ſay the ſame. Beſides, in both theſe editions the language is not Chaldee, but Hebrew as written by the Rabbins, or as we call it, Rabbinic: which alone affords ſufficient proof that this is not the Goſpel, which was uſed by the Nazarenes.

The title of Münſter's edition of 1557, is תורת המשיח Evangelium ſecundum Matthæum in lingua Hebraica, cum verſione Latina, atque annotationibus Sebaſtiani Münſteri.—Una cum epiſtola D. Pauli ad Hebræos, Hebraice et Latine. Baſileæ apud Henricum Petri[x]. The firſt edition, which was printed in 1537, I have never ſeen, and therefore I know not whether it differs from that of 1557: but there is another edition, printed in 1582, which I have compared with that of 1557, and have found them ſo ſimilar to each other, that one might ſuppoſe the edition of 1582 was nothing more than the edition of 1557, with a new title page and a new preface. In both editions the types are the very ſame, and reſemble each other in the irregularity of their poſition, and the weakneſs and illegibility of the impreſſion. Further, the firſt and laſt words of each

[x] The ſubſcription, at the end, is dated, Baſileæ, per Henricum Petri, anno M.D.LVII. menſe Auguſto.

each page, are the ſame in both editions, except that p. 206, 207, there is a trifling difference in reſpect to the words, which follow ויהוא אמר. However, whether they are the ſame or not, is of no great importance in the preſent inquiry, and therefore I ſhall leave the queſtion to be determined by thoſe, who are bibliographers by profeſſion. Mr. Nahmmacher, who has publiſhed three diſſertations, entitled, "Animadverſiones in Evangelium Hebraicum Sebaſtiani Münſteri," in which he endeavours by the help of this Goſpel to explain difficult paſſages of the Greek, has mentioned another edition publiſhed by Cinquarbres, or Quinquarboreus, as he ſtyled himſelf in Latin, at Paris in 1551.

Sebaſtian Münſter in his dedication to the King of England, Henry VIII. ſays that he did not print this Hebrew verſion exactly as it was in his manuſcript, but that he ſupplied the deficiences, wherever it was imperfect[y]. His publication therefore is of no value to a critic: for no man can quote a reading of this Goſpel, either for or againſt a reading of the Greek text, ſince he muſt always remain in doubt, whether it ſtood in the manuſcript, or whether it was one of Münſter's additions.

One of the motives to this publication was the hope of converting the Jews; for Münſter relates in his Preface[z], that he was requeſted by thoſe, who had ſeen the extracts which he had given from it in ſome of his former works, to print it for that purpoſe. But Münſter himſelf, who doubted whether it would produce this

[y] Matthæi Evangelium—in nativa ſua, hoc eſt, Hebraica lingua, non qualiter apud Hebræorum vulgus lacerum inveni, ſed a me redintegratum et in unum corpus redactum emittimus.

[z] P. 11. Quum illud ante multos annos in libris meis Hebraicis citaſſem, eſſentque qui me ſollicitarent tantum theſaurum in publicum ut emitterem, futurum ſperantes ut—qui alieni ſunt a Chriſto hac occaſione traherentur ad Chriſtum, tam honeſtam et ſanctam petitionem repellere indignum ratus, &c. N. B. Though I quote the number of the page, in order to direct the reader, the pages in the preface itſelf are not numbered.

this effect[a], had another motive. He ſuppoſed that St. Matthew's original was in the very ſame language, as the Goſpel which he publiſhed[b], and concluded therefore that his work would be of uſe in aſcertaining the meaning of the Greek text, becauſe the Hebrew has many peculiarities, which it is difficult to expreſs in a tranſlation[c]. On this occaſion he calls a very unſeaſonable cenſure on thoſe, who truſt to verſions, as if the Goſpel, which he publiſhed, were not itſelf a verſion. But ſince it is not a verſion into the ſame dialect, in which the Goſpel was originally written, it will not always aſſiſt us in attempting to diſcover the words of the original. It is true that the Chaldee dialect, which was ſpoken by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, is in its ſtructure very cloſely allied to the Rabbinic: but in their modes of expreſſion there is a material difference, eſpecially ſince the European Jews have adopted ſo many terms from other languages, and the dialect of Münſter's Goſpel is that of modern Rabbinic. Further, the tranſlator does not appear to have been fortunate in the choice of his phraſes: and like the Syriac tranſlator he has not always availed himſelf of the advantages, which the language, in which he wrote, afforded him. The Sermon on the mount for inſtance, if it were retranſlated into the language ſpoken by Chriſt in ſuch a manner that the forms of expreſſion uſed by the ancient

[a] In the Preface to the edition of 1557, p. 8. he ſays, Non quia mihi populum cervicoſum illum hujus in ſua lingua publicatione Chriſtum agniturum ſpes ſit, cum illud ſemper habuerint quidem, impugnarint autem ſemper.

[b] See the quotation in the preceding Note (7), where Münſter uſes the expreſſion in nativa ſua, hoc eſt, Hebraica lingua.

[c] Deinde, quod quædam ob ſermonum idiomata, ſic in alienam linguam, transfundi non poſſunt, ut vel eandem et nativam, partemve nativæ gratiam claritatemque præferant. Quod huic linguæ peculiare maxime eſt. It is true that theſe words may be referred to the Hebrew Bible only: but they may relate alſo to the Hebrew Goſpel, and Münſter is not the only perſon, who has expected to derive from it ſo much critical aſſiſtance.

ancient Rabbins were preſerved, would receive very conſiderable light: but from the tranſlation of this diſcourſe in Münſter's edition, we can derive little or no information. In many places we find a very good tranſlation, but there are others again in which the tranſlator might certainly have choſen better expreſſions. At Matt. xxvii. 62. συνηχθησαν ought to have been rendered by נכנסו[d], inſtead of which we find the ill-choſen expreſſion נאספו[1]. Ver. 65, 66. κουστωδια ought probably in Rabbinic to be written קוסטונדיא agreeably to what we find in the Syriac verſion[2], becauſe the ſubject related to a Roman guard: but in Münſter's edition κουστωδια is given by משמרת. The difficult paſſage, ch. xxviii. 1. might have been rendered intelligible merely by the uſe of the word נהר[e]: but the tranſlator, inſtead of adopting this word has rendered the paſſage thus, ובערב השבת שיאיר באחד השבת. In ſhort the tranſlation is of no value.

I have already obſerved that the language of this tranſlation is Rabbinic: and it appears to be the ſame kind of Rabbinic as was uſed by Jewiſh writers of the twelfth and following centuries. It is therefore not improbable that this tranſlation was made by a Jewiſh convert, in the interval between the twelfth and ſixteenth century, in order to furniſh his brethren with a true hiſtory of Chriſt, and to confute the fabulous and abſurd accounts, which were current among the Jews. If this be true, as it really appears to be, we may conclude that the tranſlation was made, not from the Greek, but from the Vulgate, for we cannot expect a knowledge of the Greek language in a Jewiſh convert of the middle ages. That it was made from the Vulgate

[d] See the explanation of this paſſage in my Hiſtory of the Reſurrection.

[e] See what is ſaid on this ſubject, Vol. I. Ch. iv, Sect. 5. of this Introduction [3].

gate is confirmed alſo by an obſervation of Wetſtein[f], that wherever the ſame Greek word is differently rendered in the Latin, different Hebrew words occur in this Goſpel, and on the contrary, where different Greek words are rendered by the ſame Latin word, in each place of this Goſpel likewiſe is uſed the ſame Hebrew word: moreover that there are many phraſes, which betray a literal tranſlation from the Latin. For inſtance at Matt. iii. 2. one of Wetſtein's examples, which I have quoted in the note, every man, who tranſlated from the Greek, would probably render μετανοειτε by שובו: but inſtead of this ſingle word we find in Münſter's edition עשׂו תשובה, which literally correſponds to the phraſe uſed in the Vulgate, *pœnitentiam agite*. Further, the tranſlator has added בחיים *in vivis*, which is not in the Vulgate, but on which Mr. Nahmmacher has a very happy conjecture. I have never compared this Hebrew Goſpel, line for line, with the Greek and Latin texts; but even a curſory examination of it has furniſhed me with ſeveral examples, which confirm Wetſtein's opinion, eſpecially ch. v. 23. where no tranſlation is given of εικη, a word which had been baniſhed from the Vulgate, but is retained in almoſt all the Greek manuſcripts. A more complete examination of this Goſpel would probably ſupply a great variety of inſtances, which might completely elucidate this ſubject.

But if it be true that the Hebrew Goſpel publiſhed by Münſter was tranſlated from the Vulgate at a period later than the twelfth century, it follows, that, even if Münſter

[f] Prol. p. 105. Quoties eadem vox Græca aliter in Latino redditur, etiam in Hebraico diverſa occurrunt vocabula: contra ubi diverſæ voces Græcæ eodem modo in Latino vertuntur, in Hebraico eadem vox recurrit: ut Matth. ii. 7, 8. *diligenter didicit*. iii. 2. *pœnitentiam agite*. xv. 32. *triduo*. xvii. 14. *ſæpe et crebro*. xviii. 12. *eam quæ erravit*, 24. *qui debebat ei*, xx. 13. *facio tibi injuriam*, xxii. 26. *uſque ad ſeptimum*, xxiv. 24. *ut in errorem inducantur, ſi fieri poteſt*, xxvii. 5. *laqueo ſe ſuſpendit*, xxviii. 1. *primo mane*, ad verbum, Latinum ſequens codicem, convertit.

Münſter had printed accurately from his manuſcript without any alterations, it could be of no value to a critic in determining the authenticity of the Greek readings, becauſe the text of this Hebrew Goſpel ſhews only what were the readings of that copy of the Vulgate, from which the tranſlation was made. It might be uſed indeed by a collector of various readings to the Vulgate: but as the manuſcripts of the Vulgate written in the twelfth and following centuries are ſo very numerous, it would be a uſeleſs labour to collect readings from a Hebrew tranſlation of it.

Mr. Knoch is of opinion, that the tranſlation was not made by a Jew, becauſe it contains many expreſſions, which militate againſt the rules of grammar[s]. But violations of this kind will not prove that the author was not a Jew, for the moſt learned Rabbins of the middle ages are frequently inattentive to the rules of grammar, and couple ſometimes maſculines with feminines. Rabbinic is of itſelf a corrupt dialect, and bears the ſame relation to pure Hebrew, as the Latin of the middle ages to the Latin of the Auguſtan age. Nay, theſe very ſoleciſms would rather induce me to believe that a Jew was the author, becauſe a Chriſtian, who had been taught Hebrew by the rules of grammar, and was become ſufficiently maſter of the language to be able to write it, would probably have written more correctly. Some have ſuppoſed that Münſter himſelf was the author of this verſion: but this ſuſpicion is certainly ungrounded, becauſe Tilet's edition agrees in the main with that of Münſter, and therefore neither of them can have been forged by the editors. Beſides, if Münſter's object had been to impoſe on the world, he would probably have exhibited a very different text, and

[s] In his Critical and Hiſtorical Accounts of the Brunſwick collection of Bibles[4], page 559, he gives the following example, ספר תולדות ישוע, where He demonſtrativum is uſed before the ſtatus conſtructus. I admit that this is contrary to a grammar rule; but even in the Hebrew Bible we ſometimes find exceptions to the rule.

and would have inſerted a Hebrew tranſlation of all thoſe paſſages, which Jerom had quoted from the Goſpel of the Nazarenes. This would have been a more effectual method of making his Goſpel paſs for St. Matthew's original: but ſince he has not acted in this manner, it is difficult to comprehend what advantage he could propoſe to himſelf in aſcribing the work to another, if it was really his own.

The other edition of St. Matthew's Goſpel in Hebrew was publiſhed by Jean de Tilet[h], Biſhop of Brieux, who brought it in manuſcript from Rome, and Jean Mercier[i], at Paris in 1555. Its Latin[k] title is Evangelium hebraicum Matthæi, recens e Judæorum penetralibus erutum, cum interpretatione Latina ad Vulgatam, quoad fieri potuit, accommodata. Cum privilegio, Pariſiis apud Mart. Juvenem, M.D.L.V. It appears to contain the ſame verſion, as that which was publiſhed by Münſter, with this difference that the two manuſcripts varied in many places from each other[l]. In ſome paſſages there is certainly a material difference between the editions: but this aroſe probably from the circumſtance that Münſter's manuſcripts had chaſms, which were ſupplied by the editor, whereas Tilet printed thoſe paſſages from his manuſcript, which was not ſo defective. Of Tilet's edition, which is not only very ſcarce, but more valuable than that of Münſter, Mr. Spamer has been ſometime engaged in writing a critical deſcription, which I hope he will communicate to the public[5].

[h] In Latin, Tilius.

[i] Johannes Mercerus.

[k] I do not quote the Hebrew title, becauſe I am not in poſſeſſion of the book itſelf, and I am not certain, whether the tranſcript, which has been given of the Hebrew title, be accurate.

[l] They ſometimes vary in the mode of writing proper names. For inſtance the word Jeſus, is in Münſter's edition יהשו, but in Tilet's יש.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

OF ST. MARK'S GOSPEL.

SECT. I.

Of the perſon of St. Mark, and the circumſtances of his life.

DOUBTS have been entertained both in ancient and modern times, in reſpect to the perſon of that Mark, who wrote the ſecond of our four Goſpels. The Fathers are unanimous in calling him the companion of St. Peter, who in his firſt Epiſtle, ch. v. 13. mentions a perſon of the name of Mark, whom he calls his ſon, that is, his favourite diſciple[m]. And it is probable that this Mark is the ſame perſon as the Mark, who is mentioned in other parts of the New Teſtament, eſpecially Acts xii. 12. where it appears that St. Peter was intimate in the houſe of his mother. Moreover the Mark who is mentioned Acts xii. 12. accompanied St. Paul on his travels[n]. Hence we may conclude with great probability, that St. Mark the Evangeliſt, Mark the ſon of Mary, who ſometime attended St. Paul, and Mark who is mentioned by St. Peter in his firſt Epiſtle, are one and the ſame perſon. The objections, which have been made to their identity, are anſwered by Lardner in his Supplement to the Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory. Vol. I. Ch. 7. Sect. 1.

It

[m] Dr. Heumann takes the word 'ſon' in this paſſage in the literal ſenſe. But if St. Peter had been the Father of St. Mark in the proper ſenſe of the word, St. Luke would hardly have written Acts xii. 12. 'He (namely Peter) came to the houſe of Mary, the mother of John, whoſe ſurname was Mark:' nor would St. Paul in his epiſtle to the Coloſſians ch. iv. 10. have diſtinguiſhed Mark by the title of 'couſin of Barnabas,' but would have uſed the more diſtinguiſhed appellation of 'ſon of Peter.'

It appears from Acts xii. 12. that St. Mark's original name was John, the ſurname of Mark having probably been adopted by him, when he left Judæa to go into foreign countries, a practice not unuſual among the Jews of that age, who frequently aſſumed a name more familiar to the nations which they viſited, than that by which they had been diſtinguiſhed in their own country. It appears alſo from the ſame paſſage, that his mother's name was Mary, that ſhe lived in Jeruſalem, and that the Chriſtians of that city frequently aſſembled in her houſe. From Col. iv. 10. we learn that he was a couſin of St. Barnabas; from Acts xii. 25. that he accompanied St. Paul and St. Barnabas on their viſit to the Gentiles: from ch. xiii. 13. that he departed from them and returned to Jeruſalem: and from ch. xv. 36—40. that in conſequence of his departure, St. Paul having refuſed to take him on his next journey, he accompanied St. Barnabas alone, who then quitted St. Paul. However he was afterwards reconciled to St. Paul, and became again his fellow-labourer in the Goſpel: for he was with St. Paul during his impriſonment in Rome, as appears from Coloſſ. iv. 10. and Philem. 24. In the latter paſſage St. Paul ranks him among his fellow-labourers, and in the former paſſage he mentions his deſign of ſending him to Coloſſæ. St. Mark accompanied alſo St. Peter, as we have already ſeen from 1 Pet. v. 13.; and was ſo highly eſteemed by him, as to be called his ſon, in the ſame manner as Timothy is thus called by St. Paul[z]. That St. Mark was a native Jew is evident from what has been already ſaid: but that he was of the tribe of Levi, as Cave aſſerts[a], is not certain. It is true that St. Barnabas his couſin was a Levite[b]; but this will not prove that St. Mark was likewiſe a Levite, for it is a miſtake that the Jews never married out of their own tribe. We have a remarkable inſtance in the caſe of Chriſt and St. John the Baptiſt: for, though Mary and Elizabeth

[a] See Lardner's Supplemen., Vol. I. Ch. 7. Sect. 5.

beth were relations[4], yet Chriſt was of the family of David and the tribe of Judah: but St. John was the ſon of a prieſt and conſequently of the tribe of Levi.

SECT. II.

Hiſtorical accounts relative to St. Mark's Goſpel.

PAPIAS, biſhop of Hierapolis at the beginning of the ſecond century, has given the following account of St. Mark's Goſpel, for which he appeals to the authority of John the preſbyter[5]. Μαρκος μεν ερμηνευτης Πετρε γενομενος[6], οσα εμνημονευσεν, ακριβως εγραψεν· ε μεν τοι ταξει τα υπο τε Χριςε η λεχθεντα η πραχθεντα, εις γαρ ηκουσε τε Κυριε, εις παρηκολουθησεν αυτω· υςερον δε, ως εφην, Πετρω, ος προς τας χρειας εποιειτο τας διδασκαλιας, αλλ' ε χ' ωσπερ συνταξιν των κυριακων ποιουμενος λογων. Ωςε ουδεν ημαρτε Μαρκος ουτως ενια γραψας ως απεμνημονευσεν· ενος γαρ εποιησατο προνοιαν, τε μηδεν ων ηκουσε παραλιπειν, η ψευσασθαι τι εν αυτοις. From the preceding account we learn that St. Mark committed to writing what he had heard delivered by St. Peter; and in this point, all other ancient teſtimonies, however different they may be in other reſpects, agree with Papias and John the preſbyter. But the latter part of the account, namely that St. Mark's object was to omit nothing which had been delivered by

[4] The following paſſage[5] from the writings of Papias is quoted in Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. III. cap. 39.

[6] When the Greek Fathers call St. Mark Ερμηνευτης Πετρε, or the Latin Fathers *Interpres Petri*, we muſt not underſtand 'an interpreter' in the common acceptation of the word, of which St. Peter ſtood leſs in need than St Mark himſelf. It is ſimilar to the phraſe *Interpres Divum*, when applied to Mercury, which ſignifies 'Meſſenger of the Gods.' *Interpres Petri* therefore, when applied to St. Mark, ſignifies nothing more than, 'a perſon commiſſioned by St. Peter to execute his command.'

by St. Peter appears to be ſomewhat exaggerated: for it is very improbable that St. Peter knew nothing more of the hiſtory of Chriſt, than is contained in St. Mark's Goſpel. The clauſe ὁ μεν τοι ταξει τα υπο τȣ Χριϛȣ η λεχθειϛα η πραχθειϛα, is well worthy of notice: for it ſhews that John the preſbyter and Papias were of opinion that St. Mark did not write according to the order of time, as many modern harmoniſts have imagined.

Clement of Alexandriæ in his Υποτυπωσεις[q] relates, Τȣ Πετρȣ δημοσιᾳ εν Ρωμῃ κηρυξαντος τον λογον, και πνευματι το ευαγγελιον εξειποντος, τȣς παροντας πολλȣς οντας παρακαλεσαι τον Μαρκον, ως αν ακολουθησαντα αυτῳ πορρωθεν και μεμνημενον των λεχθεντων αναγραψαι τα ειρημενα· ποιησαντα δε το Ευαγγελιον μεταδουναι τοις δεομενοις αυτȣ· οπερ επιγνοντα τον Πετρον προτρεπτικως μητε κωλυσαι μητε προτρεψασθαι. Clement therefore agrees with Papias in ſaying, that St. Mark committed to writing what he had learnt from St. Peter.

The ſame account is given by Origen, who, ſpeaking of the four Goſpels, ſays, Δευτερον δε το κατα Μαρκον, ως Πετρῳ υφηγησαντο αυτῳ, ποιησαντα[r]. Here we muſt take notice, that the two Alexandrine Fathers, Clement and Origen, who were the moſt learned men of their age, ſay nothing of St. Mark's having publiſhed his Goſpel at Alexandria, as later writers aſſert.

Irenæus,

[q] The following paſſage is quoted from the Υποτυπωσεις of Clement, by Euſebius, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. VI. cap. 14. In this place, Euſebius has not mentioned in what book of the Υποτυπωσεις the paſſage ſtood: but it appears from what he ſays, Lib. II. cap. 15. that it was the *ſixth* book; for he there likewiſe refers to Clement on this ſubject, and ſays, εν εκτῳ των υποτυπωσεων.

[r] It may be obſerved both of this quotation and of that in the preceding paragraph, that neither Papias nor Clement of Alexandria conſidered St. Mark's Goſpel as written by immediate inſpiration. But this queſtion has been already examined, Vol. I. ch. iii. ſect. 3.

[s] Theſe words are likewiſe quoted by Euſebius, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. VI. cap. 25.

Irenæus, in his treatiſe againſt Hereſies, Lib. III. cap. 1. ſays: Μετα την (ſcil. Πετρε και Παυλε) εξοδον, Μαρκος ο μαθητης και ερμηνευτης Πετρε και αυτος τα υπο Πετρε κηρυσσομενα εγγραφως ημιν παραδεδωκε. This account of Irenæus agrees with that of Papias, Clement and Origen, in the aſſertion that St. Mark derived his information from St. Peter. But Irenæus appears to differ from Clement in ſaying, that St. Mark did not publiſh his Goſpel till after the death of St. Peter[1], whereas Clement relates that he wrote it during the life of St. Peter. Their accounts however may be reconciled on the ſuppoſition that, though St. Mark wrote his Goſpel during the life of St. Peter, he did not make it publickly known till after St. Peter's death[2].

Tertullian, who diſtinguiſhed St. Mark and St. Luke from St. Matthew and St. John, calling the latter Apoſtles, the former only apoſtolic men[3], ſays in his treatiſe againſt Marcion, Lib. IV. cap. 5. Licet et Marcus quod edidit Petri affirmetur, cujus interpres Marcus.

Euſebius, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Lib. II. cap. 15. has given the following account of St. Mark's Goſpel. Τοσουτο επελαμψε ταις των ακροατων τε Πετρε διανοιαις ευσεβειας φιλοτιμια, ως μη τη εισαπαξ ικανως εχειν αρκεισθαι ακοη, μη δε τη αγραφω τε Θειε κηρυγματος διδασκαλια· παρακλησεσι δε παντοιαις Μαρκον, ε το ευαγγελιον φερεται, ακολουθον ουτα Πετρε λιπαρησαι, ως αν και δια γραφης υπομνημα της δια λογε παραδοθεισης αυτοις καταλειψοι διδασκαλιας· μη προτερον τε ανειναι, η κατεργασασθαι τον ανδρα, και ταυτη αιτιος γενεσθαι της τε λεγομενε κατα Μαρκον ευαγγελιε γραφης. Thus far Euſebius relates in poſitive terms, and appeals, a few lines afterwards, to Clement of Alexandria and Papias, as vouchers for its truth. But immediately after the words juſt quoted, he adds an

[1] Μετα την τουτων εξοδον is literally 'after their exit,' that is, after their deceaſe: not 'after their departure from Rome,' as ſome critics have ſuppoſed[2].

[2] Adv. Marcion, Lib. IV. cap. 5.

an account relative to St. Peter's conduct on this occaſion, which he introduces with the word φασι (they ſay), thereby implying that he reported only what others had ſaid, without taking upon himſelf to warrant its authenticity. His words are, γνοντα δε το πραχθεν φασι τον Αποστολον, αποκαλυψαντος αυτω τω πνευματι[x], ησθηναι τη των ανδρων προθυμια, κυρωσαι τε την γραφην εις εντευξιν ταις εκκλησιαις. This is an addition to the preceding account, and is a contradiction to that, which I have quoted in a preceding paragraph from Clement of Alexandria, according to which St. Peter neither prohibited nor promoted St. Mark's Goſpel. Now it is true that an account introduced by Euſebius, merely with the expreſſion φασι (they ſay), is hardly of ſufficient authority to overturn the direct aſſertion of Clement[4]. Yet on the other hand, it contains nothing incredible, whereas that of Clement is certainly a very extraordinary one, ſince it is difficult to comprehend how St. Peter could remain ſo very indifferent as Clement repreſents him. In his ſecond Epiſtle, ch. i. 15. St. Peter ſays, 'I will endeavour that ye may be able after my deceaſe to have theſe things always in remembrance:' and in the three following verſes he gives an account, which he produces as a proof of Chriſt's divine miſſion. Inſtead therefore of St. Peter's being indifferent as to the compoſition of St. Mark's Goſpel, we may infer from the preceding paſſage, that he actually promoted it[5].

Among all the quotations, which I have hitherto made from the writings of the moſt ancient Fathers, we

[x] Αποκαλυψαντος αυτω τω πνευματι is commonly referred to the preceding words, by which conſtruction St. Peter is made to derive his information from the Holy Ghoſt that St. Mark had written a Goſpel, a fact which St. Peter might certainly have learnt without any ſupernatural interference. I will not aſſert that the clauſe in queſtion does not admit of this conſtruction: but I think it is capable of being applied to the words which follow, and then the meaning of the paſſage will be that of St. Peter's command to read St. Mark's Goſpel in the churches was at the inſtigation of the Holy Ghoſt.

we find no mention made of St. Mark's having publiſhed his Goſpel at Alexandria. This report however prevailed in the fourth century, as appears from what is related by Euſebius, Epiphanius, and Jerom. It is firſt mentioned by Euſebius, who, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Lib. II. cap. 16. ſays, Τετον δε Μαρκον πρωτον[y] φασιν επι της Αιγυπτε σταλεντα το ευαγγελιον, ο δη και συνεγραψατο, κηρυξαι, εκκλησιας τε πρωτον επ' αυτης Αλεξανδρειας συστησασθαι. It appears from the word φασιν that Euſebius mentions this only as a report: and what is immediately added in the ſame place, that the perſons, whoſe ſeverity of life and manners is deſcribed by Philo, were the converts which St. Mark made at Alexandria, is evidently falſe. Epiphanius, in his fifty-firſt Hereſy, ch. vi. gives the following account: Ευθυς δε μετα τον Ματθαιον, ακολουθος γενομενος ο Μαρκος τω αγιω Πετρω εν Ρωμη επιτρεπεται το ευαγγελιον εκθεσθαι· και γραφας αποστελλεται υπο τε αγιε Πετρε εις την των Αιγυπτιων χωραν. According to Epiphanius then St. Mark wrote his Goſpel in Rome, while St. Peter was teaching the Chriſtian religion in that city; and after he had written it, he was ſent by St. Peter into Egypt. A ſimilar account is given by Jerom in his Treatiſe on Illuſtrious Men, ch. viii. Marcus diſcipulus et interpres Petri, juxta quod Petrum referentem audierat, rogatus Romæ a fratribus, breve ſcripſit Evangelium. Quod quum Petrus audiſſet, probavit, et ecclefiis legendum ſua auctoritate[z] edidit, ſicut Clemens in ſexto υποτυπωσεων ſcribit.—Aſſumto itaque Evangelio, quod ipſe confecerat, pervexit ad Ægyptum, et primus Alexandriæ Chriſtum annuntians conſtituit

[y] The word πρωτον is here ſomewhat ambiguous. If we tranſlate it by 'firſt,' and underſtand the paſſage as implying that St. Mark firſt preached the Goſpel at Alexandria, it will be difficult to reconcile this account with what Euſebius ſays elſewhere relative to the compoſition of St. Mark's Goſpel in Rome.

[z] In the paſſage quoted above from Euſebius was uſed the expreſſion, απηκαλυψαλος αυτω τω θειμαλος: but Jerom ſeys ſimply, *ſua auctoritate*.

ſtituit eccleſiam tanta doctrinæ et vitæ continentia; ut omnes ſectatores Chriſti ad exemplum ſui cogeret.—Mortuus eſt autem octavo Neronis anno, et ſepultus Alexandriæ, ſuccedente ſibi Aniano. Laſtly, the Coptic Chriſtians of the preſent age conſider St. Mark as the founder and firſt biſhop of their church[a]; and their Patriarch ſtyles himſelf, 'Unworthy ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, called by the grace of God, and by his gracious will appointed to his ſervice, and to the ſee of the holy Evangeliſt Mark[b].'

Theſe accounts, though they agree in the main point that St. Mark went to Alexandria and preached there, are not perfectly conſiſtent in reſpect to the time when he viſited that city. There is likewiſe ſome ambiguity in reſpect to the word 'preaching,' which may denote either preaching the Goſpel, that is, teaching the Chriſtian religion, or preaching a written Goſpel, that is, openly reading and publiſhing it. In the latter ſenſe, the word 'preaching' is uſed in the ſubſcription to the Syriac verſion of St. Mark's Goſpel: and in this ſenſe we ought probably to underſtand the word as uſed in theſe quotations. If the preceding ſtatement be accurate, it follows, that St. Mark publiſhed his Goſpel both at Rome, and at Alexandria[c]: and therefore the account above-quoted from Irenæus, if it be not true of the publication of St. Mark's Goſpel at Rome, may be true of the publication of it at Alexandria. In this manner

[a] Vanſleb (Wanſleb) Relation d'un Voyage fait en Egypte, p. 132. The Copts pretend likewiſe that St. Mark was murdered by a band of robbers near the lake Menzale: but if this account be true, he was hardly buried at Alexandria, and his tomb in that city muſt be one of the forgeries of early ſuperſtition.

[b] This title I have copied from p. 90, 91, of Wanſleb's Travels into Egypt, preſerved in manuſcript in the univerſity library of Gottingen.

[c] Chryſoſtom likewiſe, and other writers quoted by Lardner in the Supplement to the Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory, Vol. I. p. 175, 176, ſay that St. Mark publiſhed his Goſpel at Alexandria[c].

manner the relation of Irenæus may be reconciled with that of other writers, and an ancient controverſy relative to St. Mark's Goſpel decided. However, I propoſe this mode of ſolution as a mere hypotheſis: and I am far from conſidering it as an indiſputable fact that St. Mark publiſhed his Goſpel at Alexandria, becauſe the two Alexandrine Fathers, Clement and Origen, have not mentioned it[7].

If the hypotheſis of a two-fold publication of St. Mark's Goſpel, firſt at Rome and afterwards at Alexandria, were a true one, it might very conveniently be applied to explain a difficulty relative to the twelve laſt verſes of this Goſpel, namely chap. xvi. 9—20. Much may be ſaid againſt the authenticity of this paſſage, as I have already ſhewn in my Hiſtory of the Reſurrection[d]: and ſince I wrote this treatiſe ſtill more evidence has been produced againſt the paſſage. It is wanting in the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, which is perhaps the moſt important Greek manuſcript now extant, and it is probable that it was not acknowledged by Euſebius[e]: further, a Greek manuſcript in the Wolfenbüttel library has a Prologue to St. Mark's Goſpel, in which no notice is taken of it[f]. On the other hand, ſo much may be ſaid in favour of this paſſage, that it would be difficult to reject it: for it is contained in almoſt all the Greek manuſcripts now extant, there is nothing in its ſtyle which particularly diſtinguiſhes it from the reſt of the Goſpel, and we can hardly ſuppoſe that St. Mark ended at ver. 8. with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, in the middle of the narration. St. Mark had related, ch. xvi. 1—8. that the women, who went to viſit the ſepulchre, ſaw an angel who informed them that Jeſus was riſen, and commanded them to tell it to Peter and the other diſciples,

[d] Pag. 179—188.

[e] See Birch's account in the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XXIII. p. 146—149.

[f] See the New Orient. Bibl. Vol. II. p. 141.

ciples, but that they ſaid nothing to any man becauſe they were afraid. Now if St. Mark ended here, it may be aſked by what means did he learn that which he had already related in reſpect to the ſepulchre and the angel, ſince the women at that time did not report either to Peter, or to any one what they had ſeen and heard[9]. But this difficulty may be removed if we ſuppoſe that St. Mark wrote the twelve laſt verſes as well as the reſt of the Goſpel: and the doubts which even in ancient times were entertained of their authenticity, may be explained on the ſuppoſition that St. Mark, when he compoſed his Goſpel at Rome with the aſſiſtance of St. Peter, wrote as far as ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, that his progreſs was then ſtopped either by the death or the impriſonment of St. Peter, but that he re-aſſumed and finiſhed his narration on his arrival at Alexandria. It is true, that this explanation, though it aſcribes theſe verſes to St. Mark as their author, deprives them of that hiſtorical certainty, which they would have poſſeſſed, if written under the immediate inſpection of St. Peter: and therefore, as I have already ſaid, I propoſe it as a mere hypotheſis. At any rate however, the twelve laſt verſes of St. Mark's Goſpel have the appearance of an addition, which does not tally with the preceding part of the diſcourſe. According to ch. xiv. 28. Chriſt himſelf had ſaid, 'After that I am riſen I will go before you into Galilee,' and according to ch. xv. 7. the very ſame account was given by the angel at the ſepulchre. From an author who had thus prepared his readers to expect a narrative of Chriſt's interview with his diſciples in Galilee, it might be reaſonably expected that he would not neglect to relate it: but in the concluſion of St. Mark's Goſpel, no mention is made of an interview in Galilee, though it had been twice declared that Chriſt would appear there[10].

SECT. III.

Agreement of the accounts given in the preceding ſection with the contents of St. Mark's Goſpel.

THAT St. Mark wrote his Goſpel in Rome, with the aſſiſtance and under the direction of St. Peter, agrees extremely well with the contents of the Goſpel itſelf, and may ſerve likewiſe to explain ſeveral particulars, which at firſt ſight appear extraordinary. For inſtance, where St. Peter is concerned in the narration, mention is ſometimes made of circumſtances, which are not related by the other Evangeliſts, as at ch. i. 29—33. ix. 34. xi. 21. xiv. 30. And on the contrary, the high commendations, which Chriſt beſtowed on St. Peter, as appears from Matth. xvi. 17—19. but which the Apoſtle, through modeſty, would hardly have repeated, are wanting in St. Mark's Goſpel[g]. At ch. xiv. 47. St. Mark mentions neither the name of the Apoſtle, who cut off the ear of the High Prieſt's ſervant, nor the circumſtance of Chriſt's healing it. We know that this Apoſtle was St. Peter, for his name is expreſsly mentioned by St. John: but an Evangeliſt, who wrote his Goſpel at Rome during the life of St. Peter, would have expoſed him to the danger of being accuſed by his adverſaries, if he had openly related the fact. Had St. Mark written after the death of St. Peter, there would have been no neceſſity for this caution[1].

Further, as St. Mark wrote for the immediate uſe of the Romans, he ſometimes gives explanations which were neceſſary for foreigners, though not for the inhabitants of Paleſtine. For inſtance, ch. vii. 2. he explains the meaning of κοιναις χερσι: and ver. 11. of κορβαν.

[g] This obſervation was made by Euſebius: but Jerom and Lardner have overrated it.

κορβαν. In the ſame chapter, ver. 3, 4. he gives a deſcription of ſome Jewiſh cuſtoms: and ch. xv. 42. he explains the meaning of παρασκευη. At ch. xv. 21. he mentions that Simon was the father of Alexander and Rufus, a circumſtance not mentioned by the other Evangeliſts: but to St. Mark's readers the circumſtance was intereſting, becauſe Rufus was at that time in Rome, as appears from Rom. xvi. 13. See alſo Wetſtein's Notes to ch. vii. 26. xi. 22.

That St. Mark wrote his Goſpel in Rome, and for the uſe of the Romans, is likewiſe the reaſon why he has omitted many particulars in the life of Chriſt, which are related by St. Matthew and St. Luke. The genealogy, for inſtance, though intereſting to the Jews, was not ſo to the Romans; and the ſame may be ſaid of Chriſt's nativity at Bethlehem, a name well known to the Jews, but probably unknown to the Romans. His total omiſſion of Chriſt's admirable ſermon on the mount, which St. Matthew has given at full length, and St. Luke in ſhort extracts, appears at firſt ſight, to be rather extraordinary. But we muſt recollect that this ſermon was in fact polemical, and immediately directed againſt the falſe morality of the Phariſees. To underſtand this ſermon therefore, it is abſolutely neceſſary to have a previous knowledge of the Phariſaic doctrines: but theſe doctrines were unknown to the Romans. The unlearned are not only incapable of comprehending this diſcourſe, but are in danger, without the aſſiſtance of a learned interpreter, of totally perverting its meaning. It is a known fact, that very erroneous moral doctrines have been deduced from it, and that theſe doctrines have been applied as objections to the Chriſtian religion. It has been aſſerted, that Chriſt totally prohibited the adminiſtration of an oath, the repulſe of violence, an appeal to a magiſtrate, or ſelf-defence. For theſe reaſons, St. Peter himſelf would hardly have delivered this diſcourſe to the Romans: and, for theſe reaſons, St. Mark paſſed it over in ſilence.

The ſame motive induced him to give in only a few words, ch. xii. 38—40. another diſcourſe, which Chriſt directed to the Phariſees, and which St. Matthew has delivered at full length[z].

SECT. IV.

St. Mark derived his information, not only from St. Peter, but likewiſe from written documents, which he uſed in the compoſition of his Goſpel.

FROM[1] the accounts of the eccleſiaſtical writers, which have been quoted in the ſecond ſection of this chapter, it appears that St. Mark derived his knowledge of Chriſt's life and character from St. Peter: and if we judged from theſe accounts alone, we ſhould conclude that he had no other ſource of information. But, notwithſtanding the ſilence of the Fathers in reſpect to any written documents, which were uſed by St. Mark[2], it is certain that he made uſe of other Goſpels in the compoſition of his own. I have already ſhewn in the third chapter, that St. Mark agrees in his expreſſions both with St. Matthew and with St. Luke, in ſuch a manner as he would hardly have done, unleſs the three firſt Goſpels had been connected, either mediately or immediately, with each other. In the choice of his materials he agrees partly with St. Matthew, partly with St. Luke, and omits many material tranſactions recorded by St. John, but which are not mentioned either by St. Matthew or by St. Luke. And in the arrangement of his facts he ſometimes agrees with St. Luke, where the order of time is not obſerved, and in oppoſition to St. Matthew, which can hardly be explained by mere accident[a]. Of the truth of this aſſertion the reader will be convinced by turning to the Table, which I have given,

given, ch. ii. ſect. 7. and comparing the accounts of the three Evangeliſts.

Theſe phænomena may be explained, either on the hypotheſis that there was an immediate connection between the three firſt Goſpels, or on the hypotheſis, that there was only a mediate one. I have already obſerved in the third chapter, that the three firſt Evangeliſts do not appear to have ſeen each other's writings. If this be true, we can aſſume only a mediate connection, that is, we can aſſume only the hypotheſis of a common ſource, from which they ſeverally drew. St. Luke, in the preface to his Goſpel, mentions that ſeveral written accounts were then in circulation; and I think it probable, not only that St. Luke, but likewiſe that St. Mark made uſe of theſe written accounts, correcting at the ſame time whatever was erroneous by the aſſiſtance of St. Peter.

On the contrary, they who aſſume an immediate connection between the three firſt Goſpels, muſt adopt one of the four following ſuppoſitions: 1ſt that St. Mark made uſe of St. Matthew's Goſpel, or 2dly of St. Luke's Goſpel, or 3dly of both Goſpels, or 4thly that St. Mark's Goſpel was uſed by St. Matthew and St. Luke. All theſe four ſuppoſitions have had their advocates. In ſome of them I find inſurmountable difficulties, in others not: I will examine therefore each of them in order.

SECT. V.

Examination of the queſtion, whether St. Mark made uſe of St. Matthew's Goſpel[1].

THAT St. Mark made uſe of St. Matthew's Goſpel has been hitherto a very common opinion, and in the former editions of this Introduction I adopted it as highly probable: but a recent and more minute examination of this ſubject has convinced me that the opinion is ungrounded. Dr. Lardner, in the Supplement to the Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory, Vol. I. ch. 10. had ſhewn by ſeveral arguments, the principal of which was drawn from the apparent contradictions between St. Matthew and St. Mark, that the common opinion was at leaſt doubtful: and in the year 1782, a ſmall tract was publiſhed by Dr. Koppe, entitled *Marcus non Epitomator Matthæi*, in which the author has ſhewn that it is no longer tenable.

Though the notion that St. Mark epitomized St. Matthew has in modern times been very general, we find no mention made of it by any eccleſiaſtical writer before Auguſtin, who, in his treatiſe De conſenſu Evangeliſtarum, Lib. I. cap. 2. ſays, Marcus Matthæum ſubſecutus tanquam pediſſequus ejus et breviator videtur. From theſe words it appears that Auguſtin advanced it only as a probable opinion: but the reputation of Auguſtin was ſo great that his opinion was very generally adopted, and thus a mere conjecture was converted into an indiſputable fact. On the other hand, the circumſtance that no eccleſiaſtical writer before Auguſtin has advanced this opinion, is no argument againſt it: for they are equally ſilent in reſpect to other written documents, and yet ſome written document was certainly uſed by St. Mark. That this however was not St. Matthew's

Matthew's Goſpel will appear from the following arguments[h].

1. St. Mark agrees with St. Luke, in an equal if not greater degree than with St. Matthew: and therefore we may as well ſay that he copied from St. Luke, as that he copied from St. Matthew. Whoever then does not admit that he copied from the former, muſt not conclude that he copied from the latter, for the inference in the one caſe would be as valid as in the other. On the other hand, if St. Mark's agreement with St. Matthew really proves that he copied from him, his agreement with St. Luke will prove that he copied likewiſe from this Evangeliſt, and then St. Mark's Goſpel muſt be conſidered as an extract, not from St. Matthew's only, but from St. Matthew's and St. Luke's jointly.

2. But that St. Mark did not uſe St. Matthew's Goſpel is probable from this circumſtance, that he frequently deviates from St. Matthew in the order of time, or in the arrangement of his facts. As St. Matthew was an Apoſtle and eye-witneſs to the facts which he related, St. Mark could not have wiſhed for better authority; and therefore if he had St. Matthew's Goſpel before him, when he wrote his own, he would hardly have adopted a different arrangement. It might be ſaid indeed that he made alterations on the authority of St. Peter: but this ſuppoſition is very improbable.

3. Though there are ſeveral parts of St. Matthew's Goſpel, ſuch as the genealogy, the ſermon on the mount, ſome prophecies from the Old Teſtament, the account of the death of Judas Iſcariot, and ſome few more paſſages, which an Evangeliſt, who wrote chiefly for the uſe of the Romans, might not improperly omit, yet on the other hand, there are ſeveral accounts in St.

[h] They who contend that St. Matthew wrote his Goſpel after St. Peter's arrival in Rome, may deduce another argument againſt the opinion that St. Mark copied from it. But on this argument I ſhall not inſiſt.

St. Matthew's Goſpel, of the omiſſion of which in St. Mark's Goſpel it is really difficult to aſſign a reaſon, and which therefore lead to the concluſion that St. Matthew's Goſpel was not uſed by St. Mark. Examples of this kind the reader will find by turning to the Table of the Goſpel Hiſtory, ch. ii. ſect. 7. and conſulting N°. 46, 100, 108, 109. A ſtill more remarkable inſtance is the omiſſion of what is related by St. Matthew, ch. xiv. 28—32. (N°. 53.), a relation in which St. Peter was particularly concerned, and which St. Mark would hardly have omitted, if he had read it in St. Matthew[1]. Again, the hiſtory recorded by St. Matthew, ch. xix. 16.—xx. 16. is delivered by St. Mark, ch. x. 17—31. (ſee N°. 86), where ſome of the material parts of the narration are omitted: for inſtance, Peter's reply to Chriſt, 'What ſhall we have therefore?' Further, he has omitted the long parable related by St. Matthew, ch. xx. 1—16. which Chriſt delivered as a reproof of St. Peter: and what is ſtill more extraordinary, he has (ch. x. 31.) the concluſion of the parable, 'Many, who are firſt, ſhall be laſt, and the laſt ſhall be firſt,' though he has not the parable itſelf. Surely then St. Mark had not acceſs to St. Matthew's Goſpel; for he would then have known the whole of the narration, and conſequently would not have neglected to relate the moſt material parts of it. If it be objected that St. Mark, even though he knew the whole of what had been related by St. Matthew, ch. xix. 16—xx. 16. might purpoſely have omitted through motives of delicacy what appeared to be unfavourable to St. Peter, I anſwer, that this was not the uſual practice of St. Mark, who has written as freely of St. Peter as of the other Apoſtles; and even if the contrary were true, there was no neceſſity for ſuppreſſing the narrative itſelf, for

[1] It might be objected indeed that the whole paſſage Matth. xiv. 28—32, of which there are no traces in the other Evangeliſts, has the appearance of an interpolation, and therefore that this example is not deciſive.

for his object might have been equally well attained by ſuppreſſing only the name, and ſaying in general terms, 'one of the diſciples.' Beſides, it is evident from what St. Mark has actually related, ch. x. 28—31. that he had no ſuch object in view: for, if he had, he would have related ſtill leſs, and would not have recorded Chriſt's anſwer, 'Many, who are firſt, ſhall be laſt,' which applied immediately to St. Peter. Want of information therefore was the cauſe, why St. Mark has not given the narrative complete, not a deſigned ſuppreſſion of what he really knew. Laſtly, St. Mark's imperfect deſcription of Chriſt's tranſactions with the Apoſtles after he was riſen from the dead affords the ſtrongeſt proof that the contents of St. Matthew's Goſpel were unknown to St. Mark. A very circumſtantial deſcription is given by St. Matthew of Chriſt's converſation with the Apoſtles, on a mountain in Galilee: yet St. Mark, though he had before related that Chriſt promiſed his diſciples that he would go before them into Galilee, has, in the laſt chapter of his Goſpel, no account whatever of Chriſt's appearance in Galilee. Now, if he had read St. Matthew's Goſpel, this important event could not have been unknown to him, and conſequently he would not have neglected to record it.

4. If St. Mark had had St. Matthew's Goſpel before him, when he wrote his own, he would certainly have avoided every appearance of contradiction to the accounts given by an Apoſtle, and an eye-witneſs. His account of the call of Levi, under the very ſame circumſtance as St. Matthew mentions his own call, whether Levi and Matthew be the ſame or different perſons, is at leaſt a variation from St. Matthew's deſcription; and this very variation would have been avoided, if St. Mark had had acceſs to St. Matthew's Goſpel. The ſame may be obſerved of Mark x. 46. where only one blind man is mentioned, whereas St. Matthew in the parallel paſſage mentions two. In St. Mark's account of St. Peter's denial of Chriſt, the very ſame woman, who

who addreſſed St. Peter the firſt time, addreſſed him likewiſe the ſecond time, whereas, according to St. Matthew, he was addreſſed by a different perſon: for St. Mark, ch. xiv. 69. uſes the expreſſion η παιδισκη, which, without a violation of grammar, can be conſtrued only of the ſame maid, who had been mentioned immediately before, whereas St. Matthew, ch. xxvi. 71. has αλλη. Now let the harmoniſts reconcile theſe examples in whatever manner they pleaſe, there will always remain a difference between the two accounts, which would have been avoided, if St. Mark had copied from St. Matthew. But what ſhall we ſay of inſtances, in which, as far as I am able to judge, there is no mode of reconciliation? If we compare Mark iv. 35. and i. 35. with Matth. viii. 28—34. we ſhall find not only a difference in the arrangement of the facts, but ſuch a determination of time as renders a reconciliation impracticable. For, according to St. Matthew, on the day after the ſermon on the mount, Chriſt entered into a ſhip, and croſſed the lake of Genneſareth, where he underwent a violent tempeſt: but according to St. Mark, this event took place on the day after the ſermon in parables; and on the day, which followed that, on which the ſermon on the mount was delivered, Chriſt went, not to the ſea ſide, but to a deſert place, whence he paſſed through the towns and villages of Galilee[k]. Another inſtance, in which we ſhall find it equally impracticable to reconcile the two Evangeliſts, is Mark xi. 28. compared with Matth. xxi. 23. In both places the Jewiſh prieſts propoſe this queſtion to Chriſt, εν ποια εξουσια ταυτα ποιεις; alluding to his expulſion of the buyers and ſellers from the temple. But according to what St. Mark had previouſly related in the ſame chapter, this queſtion was propoſed on the third day of Chriſt's entry into Jeruſalem, but according to St. Matthew it was propoſed on the ſecond. If St. Mark had copied from St. Matthew, this difference in their accounts would hardly have taken place.

SECT.

[k] See above, Ch. II. Sect. 8.

SECT. VI.

Examination of the queſtion, whether St. Mark made uſe of St. Luke's Goſpel.

IF St. Mark's Goſpel was written whilſt St. Peter was in Rome, St. Luke's Goſpel muſt have been written before that of St. Mark, and therefore it is ſo far poſſible that the latter copied from the former. St. Luke came to Rome with St. Paul long before the arrival of St. Mark, and both his Goſpel and the Acts of the Apoſtles had been written before St. Mark arrived. When St. Paul wrote his Epiſtles to the Epheſians, Coloſſians, and Philemon, they were both of them with St. Paul in Rome[l]. When St. Paul wrote his ſecond Epiſtle to Timothy, which was written during his ſecond impriſonment in Rome, St. Luke alone was with St. Paul; but St. Mark, who was then abſent, was requeſted to come to him[m]. Now if St. Mark wrote his Goſpel, after St. Peter's arrival in Rome, he muſt have written during this ſecond viſit, for before that time St. Peter does not appear to have been in Rome. And as there is a remarkable agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke, the ſuppoſition, that the former copied from the latter, appears at firſt ſight to be very probable.

But probable as this ſuppoſition may appear, we ſhall find on a cloſer examination, that more may be ſaid againſt it, than in its favour. For, in the firſt place, if St. Mark had made uſe of St. Luke's Goſpel in the compoſition of his own, we ſhould have hardly met with ſo frequent, and ſo remarkable variations in their accounts of the ſame tranſaction. For inſtance, according St. Mark, ch. x. 46. Chriſt reſtores a blind man

[l] See Coloſſ. iv. 10. 14. Philem. 23, 24.

[m] See 2 Tim. iv. 11.

man to fight, after his entry into Jericho, and he was again quitting the town[n]: but according to St. Luke, ch. xviii. 35. Chriſt performed this miracle, before he entered into Jericho[o]. It may be ſaid indeed that St. Mark, if he wrote under the direction of St. Peter, might tacitly correct the inaccuracies of his predeceſſor: and therefore that a deviation in his deſcription of a fact from the relation of St. Luke will not abſolutely prove that he made *no* uſe of St. Luke's Goſpel. But if this anſwer be admitted in reſpect to the difference in their accounts, it will be difficult to find a ſatisfactory reaſon, why St. Mark totally omitted ſo many important facts recorded by St. Luke, if he really made uſe of St. Luke's Goſpel. Examples of this kind may be ſeen in the Table of the Goſpel hiſtory, ch. ii. ſect. 7. N°. 29. 46. 48, 49, 69—83. 94, 95: and the facts here related by St. Luke are ſo very credible, that St. Peter could have entertained no doubt of their truth.

On the other ſide of the queſtion it may be urged, that notwithſtanding the above-mentioned variations and omiſſions, the relation in which St. Mark and St. Luke ſtood to each other, render it highly improbable that a Goſpel written by the one ſhould have remained unknown to the other[1]: and that St. Mark's knowledge of St. Luke's Goſpel does not neceſſarily imply that they ſhould agree in every tittle, or that St. Mark ſhould never omit what St. Luke has related. I have ſhewn in a preceding ſection, that the compoſition of St. Mark's Goſpel was occaſioned by the requeſt of the Romans, who deſired to have a written memorial of what St. Peter had verbally taught. It may be ſaid therefore that St. Mark uſed the Goſpel of St. Luke, but that he retained only what he had heard confirmed by St. Peter, and made ſuch corrections and additions, as were warranted by the ſame authority. And the ſuppo-

[n] St. Matthew ſays the ſame: but then he mentions two blind men.

[o] Εν τω εγγιζειν αυτον εις Ιερειχω.

ſuppoſition, that St. Mark uſed the Goſpel of St. Luke, accounts for the agreement of the two Evangeliſts in the arrangement of their facts[a].

SECT. VII.

Whether St. Mark's Goſpel was written firſt, and uſed by St. Luke.

THIS hypotheſis hath been lately adopted by Dr. Storr, in his Eſſay on the object of the Evangelical Hiſtory, and the Epiſtles of St. John. In the 58th and following ſections of this work, he endeavours to ſhew that St. Mark wrote not only before St. Luke, but ſoon after the foundation of the Chriſtian church at Antioch, in ſupport of which opinion he appeals to Acts xi. 17—30. His arguments however do not render his opinion even probable, for they are grounded merely on the ſuppoſed neceſſity of a Goſpel for the Chriſtians of that city, and therefore, as it is contrary to the accounts of eccleſiaſtical writers, the opinion has no foundation. On the ſuppoſition that St. Mark wrote at this early period, Dr. Storr endeavours to explain the agreement between the three firſt Evangeliſts by aſſuming that St. Mark's Goſpel was uſed both by St. Matthew and St. Luke. But their agreement may be explained, without ſuppoſing an immediate connection between them: on which ſubject I ſhall ſay more in the fifth volume of the New Oriental and Exegetical Library [b].

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

St. Mark wrote his Goſpel in Greek.

THE Greek language was more common in Rome, in the age of the Apoſtles, than the French language is at preſent in Germany: as appears from the familiar Letters of Auguſtus, which are for the moſt part, either written in Greek, or are interſperſed with Greek phraſes. The Jews eſpecially, who reſided in Rome, underſtood Greek, for they came out of countries, where Greek was the current language; and they read the Old Teſtament, not in a Latin tranſlation, which at that time did not exiſt, but in the Greek verſion. No language therefore was more ſuitable to the neceſſity of the times, and therefore St. Mark would probably have preferred it, even if he had been able to write both languages with equal eaſe. But we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe, that he was ſufficiently maſter of the Latin to be able to write it.

Some modern critics however, eſpecially Baronius, have aſſerted, that St. Mark really compoſed his Goſpel in Latin, an aſſertion, which not only contradicts hiſtorical evidence, but is in itſelf almoſt incredible; for, as the Latin church from the earlieſt ages of Chriſtianity was in a very flouriſhing ſtate, and the Latin language ſpread itſelf throughout the whole Roman empire, the Latin original of St. Mark's Goſpel, if ſuch an original ever exiſted, could not have been neglected in ſuch a manner, as that no copy of it ſhould deſcend to poſterity[p]. It is true that in the ſubſcription to St. Mark's Goſpel in the Syriac verſion, it is ſaid that St. Mark

[p] Whoever wiſhes to be acquainted with the hiſtory of this controverſy, may conſult Simon Hiſt. Crit. du Texte du N. T. ch. xi. Maii Examen hiſtoriæ criticæ, cap. xi. Schroederi diſſert. de lingua Marci authentica, and the Letter which Baumgarten annexed to his Vindiciæ textus Græci N. T. contra Harduinum.

Mark wrote in the Romiſh, that is, the Latin language[q]: but ſubſcriptions of this kind are of no authority whatſoever, for no one knows from whom they proceeded, and ſome of them contain the moſt glaring errors. Beſides as the Syriac verſion was made in the Eaſt, and taken immediately from the Greek, no one can appeal to a Syriac ſubſcription, in regard to the language in which St. Mark wrote in Rome.

The advocates for a Latin original of St. Mark's Goſpel have appealed to a Latin manuſcript in the library of St. Mark at Venice, which they ſaid the Evangeliſt wrote with his own hand. Though this aſſertion was not only incapable of proof, but like other ſtories of ancient relics favoured ſtrongly of the fabulous, yet during ſome time it was difficult to give a poſitive proof of its falſity: for the dampneſs of the place, in which the manuſcript was kept, had very fortunately for the admirers of this treaſure, ſo materially injured it, as to have rendered it almoſt illegible. Hence Miſſon contended that it was written in Greek, for he fancied that he had diſcovered in it the letters Δ and Σ, and in one paſſage the whole word KATA. But about forty years ago, Laurentius a Turre, in a Letter publiſhed in Blanchini Evangeliarum Quadruplex, P. ii. p. 543. threw a new and unexpected light on this obſcure ſubject. From this Letter it appears that the manuſcript in queſtion was brought to Venice from Friuli (Forum Julii), where a very ancient Latin manuſcript containing the Goſpels of St. Matthew, St.

[q] The Syriac ſubſcription to St. Mark's Goſpel is, ܡܪܩܘܣ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܒܫܘܡܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܒܐܝܣܛܪܝܢ ܒܪܘܡܝ ܒܠܫܢ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܛܠܝܐ. In the Philoxenian verſion is an addition to this ſubſcription: for ܐܝܛܠܝܐ (Romiſh) is explained by ܦܪܢܓܝ, that is, Frankiſh. From this explanation it is obvious, how very modern the ſubſcription is in the Philoxenian verſion.

St. Luke and St. John is ſtill preſerved[r]. That this manuſcript once contained likewiſe the Goſpel of St. Mark is certain, becauſe at the end of St. Matthew's Goſpel is written, Explicit Evangelium ſecundum Matthæum, incipit ſecundum Marcum: and that the Venice manuſcript of St. Mark's Goſpel formerly made a part of the Friuli manuſcript appears from the following circumſtances. In the year 1534, the emperor Charles IV. brought with him from Aquileia, where the MS. was then preſerved, the two laſt quaternions, or the ſixteen laſt leaves of a Latin manuſcript of St. Mark's Goſpel. This fragment is now at Prague, and has been lately publiſhed by Dobrowſky, under the title Fragmentum Pragenſe Evangelii S. Marci vulgo autographi[s]. That the manuſcript now in Friuli is no other than the MS. which in the time of Charles IV. was in Aquileia, appears from a compariſon of it with the fragment in Prague, for they are written in the very ſame hand, on the ſame vellum, and in each page is preciſely nineteen lines. And that the Venetian manuſcript is the remaining part of St. Mark's Goſpel which fails in the Friuli manuſcript, appears firſt from its having been ſent from Friuli to Venice in the year 1420, as a preſent to the doge Macenico, and ſecondly from its containing the firſt five quaternions of St. Mark's Goſpel, of which the Prague fragment contains the two laſt[t]. The pretended autograph of St. Mark's Goſpel therefore is nothing more than a fragment of the Friuli manuſcript publiſhed by Blanchini, and conſequently contains only a part of the Latin tranſlation[t].

No

[r] Blanchini has printed this MS. which is called Codex Foro-Julianus, letter for letter.

[s] Whoever wiſhes for more information on this ſubject muſt conſult the above-quoted work of Debrowſky.

[t] Blanchini has given a copper plate repreſenting the letters of this manuſcript, from which we perceive the cauſe of Miſſon's miſtake. A he miſtook for Δ, and Ε for Σ: and the imaginary word KATA was nothing more than the ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth letters of IBATAUTEM.

No writer of the New Teſtament has neglected elegance of expreſſion, and purity of language, more than St. Mark. The word ευθεως occurs inceſſantly, and he abounds likewiſe with numerous and harſh Hebraiſms. Yet his Goſpel is very valuable, becauſe it contains ſeveral important though ſhort additions to the accounts given by St. Matthew. For inſtance, the anſwer of Chriſt, which St. Matthew has recorded, ch. xii. 48—50. would be thought very extraordinary, unleſs we knew what St. Mark has related, ch. iii. 21.: but from this paſſage we clearly perceive the reaſon of Chriſt's anſwer. Sometimes he has additions, which more clearly aſcertain the time, in which the events happened, as in ch. iv. 35. vi. 1, 2. It is therefore unjuſt to ſuppoſe that St. Mark neglected the order of time more than the other Evangeliſts, and ſtill more ſo, to reject his arrangement for that of St. Matthew or St. Luke, in places where the time is poſitively determined by St. Mark [3].

CHAP. VI.

OF ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL.

SECT. I.

Of the life and character of St. Luke.

THE Evangelist St. Luke[u] appears from Colossians iv. 10, 11. 14. to have been by birth a heathen[x]: and therefore he was neither one of the seventy disciples, nor

[u] Instead of *Lucas*, some old Latin MSS. have *Lucanus*.

[x] St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Colossians, ch. iv. 10, 11, says, Ασπαζεται υμας Αρισταρχος ο συναιχμαλωτος μου, και Μαρκος ο ανεψιος Βαρναβα, περι ου ελαβετε εντολας· εαν ελθη προς υμας, δεξασθε αυτον· και Ιησους ο λεγομενος Ιουστος, οι οντες εκ περιτομης. Ουτοι μονοι συνεργοι εις την βασιλειαν του Θεου. Ver. 12, 13. St. Paul makes mention of Epaphras, and ver. 14. adds Ασπαζεται υμας Λουκας ο ιατρος ο αγαπητος, και Δημας. Here then the Apostle distinguishes Aristarchus, Marcus, and Jesus the Just, from Epaphras, Lucas, and Demas, saying expressly of the three first, that they were of the circumcision: we may conclude therefore that the three last were not of the circumcision. Further, as St. Paul immediately after οι οντες εκ περιτομης adds ουτοι μονοι συνεργοι εις την βασιλειαν του Θεου, and it cannot be supposed that he meant to exclude St. Luke from the number of his fellow-labourers, the words μονοι συνεργοι can have no other meaning than 'my only fellow-labourers of the circumcision.' Consequently St. Luke as well as Demas and Epaphras, were among St. Paul's fellow-labourers, who were not of the circumcision. I admit however that this induction is not so decisive, as to lead to an absolute certainty; and therefore if stronger arguments can be produced in favour of the opinion, that St. Luke was by birth a Jew, the preceding inference will not be valid. Now that St. Luke was really a Jew, Dr. Lardner in the Supplement to his Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. p. 236. has endeavoured to shew by the two following arguments. 1. 'That, as St. Luke constantly attended St. Paul, the Jews, especially at Jerusalem, would have reproached the Apostle, if his companion had been an uncircumcised Gentile, but that we no where find an account of any such reproaches having been made him. 2. That St. Luke follows the Jewish computation of time, and mentions the Jewish festivals, as in Acts xii. 3. xx. 6. 16.

xxvii.

nor an eye-witneſs of the actions of Chriſt, to which indeed he lays no claim, ſaying only that he would write according to the beſt information he could procure, παρηκολουθηκως ανωθεν πασιν ακριβως. From Col. iv. 14. we find that he was a phyſician, on which ſubject Clauſewitz has written a ſhort treatiſe entitled, De Luca Evangeliſta medico. Heumann was formerly of opinion that Luke the phyſician mentioned Col. iv. 14. was not Luke the Evangeliſt: but he afterwards revoked it, and in his Notes to Acts xiii. 1. and Col. iv. 14. has ſhewn that they were one and the ſame perſon.

The two circumſtances, that St. Luke was not a Jew, at leaſt not by birth and education, and that his profeſſion was that of a phyſician, have had ſome influence on his mode of writing and the choice of his expreſſions. For inſtance, the word δαιμονιον, which the other Evangliſts uſe, without any epithet, to denote an evil ſpirit, appears to have been underſtood by St. Luke, as it was underſtood by the pure Greek writers, namely as denoting either a good or an evil ſpirit: for at ch. iv. 33. where he uſes δαιμονιον for the firſt time, he explains it by the epithet ακαθαρτον. The lake of Genneſareth, which the other Evangeliſts, according to the uſual mode of expreſſion among the Jews

xxvii. 9. But the firſt argument, though ſpecious, is not deciſive, becauſe it depends merely on the ſilence of our hiſtorian, who was ſo free from egotiſm, that he has very ſeldom related what concerned himſelf, even where the relation would be of ſome importance: for inſtance, his ſtay at Philippi, of which I ſhall take notice in the next ſection. Nor does the other argument prove that St. Luke was a Jew; for an heathen hiſtorian, who underſtood the Jewiſh cuſtoms, would accommodate his relation to the Jewiſh mode of reckoning, in deſcribing St. Paul's tranſactions with the Jews.

Some writers have related that St. Luke was a native of Antioch, others that he was originally a ſlave, others again that he was by profeſſion a painter. Theſe reports, which are very uncertain, the reader will find examined by Lardner, whoſe opinion of them is perfectly juſt. Laſtly, ſome authors may have ſuppoſed that St. Luke was one of the two diſciples, whom Chriſt met on the road to Emmaus: a ſuppoſition, which Lardner thinks not improbable.

Jews and Syrians, called θαλασσα, is termed by St. Luke, ch. v. 1, 2. viii. 22, 23. very properly λιμνη. In ch. iv. 38. he terms the fever, with which St. Peter's mother-in-law was afflicted, πυρετος μεγας, on which expreſſion Wetſtein's Note may be conſulted. The phraſe τριτην ημεραν αγει uſed by St. Luke, ch. xxiv. 21. occurs particularly in the writings of Galen[a]. In deſcribing the blindneſs of Elymas, Acts xiii. 11. which was to laſt only for a time, he uſes the proper word αχλυς, on which Kypke may be conſulted. In general, he wrote much better Greek, than the other Evangeliſts, eſpecially in the Acts of the Apoſtles, of which I ſhall give examples in a following ſection.

That St. Luke accompanied St. Paul to Rome, and remained with him there during ſome time, we learn from Acts xxviii. 13—16. Col. iv. 14. and Philem. 24. From Rome he is ſaid to have travelled into Africa, and to have preached the Goſpel in Egypt, a ſubject which will be conſidered hereafter.

SECT. II.

Examination of the queſtion, whether St. Luke's Goſpel, though it contains upon the whole a very credible hiſtory, is perfectly free from inaccuracies.

ST. LUKE's intercourſe with the Apoſtles, and other eye-witneſſes to the tranſactions of Chriſt, render him a very credible hiſtorian, as he aſſures us, that he has diligently[y] inquired into the whole hiſtory, and traced up the ſeveral facts to the fountain head[z]. But the diligence with which he inſtituted his inquiries did not neceſſarily exempt him from the danger of making ſome few miſtakes, unleſs he wrote under the influence

[y] Ακριβως. [z] ανωθεν.

influence of divine inſpiration. Now St. Luke himſelf not only lays no claim to ſupernatural aſſiſtance, but on the contrary grounds the fidelity of his hiſtory merely on the accuracy of his own reſearches. I have already ſhewn in the firſt volume of this Introduction[a], that inſtead of being loſers we ſhould be real gainers, if we conſidered St. Luke as a mere human hiſtorian, becauſe the objections which have been made to the contradictions in the Goſpels, affect St. Luke more than St. Matthew and St. John. He was neither an Apoſtle nor an eye-witneſs to the facts, which he has recorded in his Goſpel, and therefore when he differs from an Apoſtle and eye-witneſs, we muſt conclude, ſince two accounts which vary from each other cannot both of them be accurate, that the inaccuracy is on the part of St. Luke.

In ch. xviii. 35. St. Luke relates that Chriſt reſtored a blind man to ſight, as he was approaching toward Jericho: whereas both St. Matthew and St. Mark relate, that this miracle was performed after Chriſt's departure from Jericho. His account of the ſpices prepared by the women for the embalming of the body of Chriſt, ch. xxiii. 56. and their bringing theſe ſpices to the grave, ch. xxiv. 1. it is difficult, if not impoſſible, to reconcile with what St. John has related on this occaſion[b]. In the ſhort extract which St. Luke has given from the ſermon on the mount, he has inverted one of the precepts delivered by Chriſt. According to Matth. v. 40. Chriſt gave the following command, Τῳ θελοντι σοι κριθηναι, και χιτωνα σε λαβειν, αφες αυτῳ και το ἱματιον: but on the contrary in St. Luke's Goſpel, ch. vi. 29, the command is given thus: Απο του αιροντος σε το ἱματιον και τον χιτωνα μη κωλυσης. To thoſe who are unacquainted with the Jewiſh laws, the form in which St.

[a] Ch. III. ſect. 3.

[b] See what I have ſaid on this ſubject in my Hiſtory of the Reſurrection[3].

St. Luke has recorded this precept, will appear to be the moſt natural, becauſe an outward garment (ἱμάτιον) muſt be taken off before the under garment (χίτων). But Chriſt alluded in this inſtance to a Jewiſh law, according to which a creditor could ſummon a debtor before a court of juſtice, and if he were unable to pay, could claim from him his under garment: but the outward garment was ſacred, and could not be ſeized, even if the wearer had pledged it as ſurety for a debt[c]. The meaning therefore of the precept, as recorded by St. Matthew, is this: that if any one has a claim upon us, we ſhould rather give up even more than the laws require, than diſpute that, which can with juſtice be demanded. This is a very rational precept: but in the form in which St. Luke has delivered it, and in the connection in which he has related it, the precept implies that not even robbers ought to be reſiſted, and hence objections have been made to the Chriſtian religion. But the objections will ceaſe to be of weight, if we admit, that St. Luke miſunderſtood the precept[a]. According to the relation of St. Matthew, ch. xviii. 21, 22. when St. Peter demanded of Chriſt how often he ſhould forgive his brother, who offended him, whether ſeven times, he received for anſwer 'ſeventy times ſeven': by which Chriſt intended to ſay in general terms, that we ſhould be ready at all times to be reconciled with thoſe, who had offended us. But St. Luke, ch. xvii. 3, 4. has recorded the precept in the following manner: 'If he treſpaſs againſt thee ſeven times in a day, and ſeven times in a day turn again to thee, ſaying, I repent, thou ſhalt forgive him.' Now ſeven, it is true, is much leſs than ſeventy times ſeven, but the addition of 'in a day,' increaſes the force of the expreſſion in ſuch a manner as to produce a very incomprehenſible doctrine. For, if a man offend me ſeven times a day, and comes to me each time to ſay that he repents, how is it poſſible that his repentance ſhould be

[c] Moſaic Law, Vol. III. ſect. 150. No. 1. and Exod. xxii. 25, 26.

be ſincere, when he continually repeats the offence in the very ſame day? The addition therefore of τῆς ἡμέρας is certainly without authority, and St. Luke muſt have derived his information in this inſtance, not from the Apoſtles, but from one of thoſe apocryphal Goſpels, of which he ſpeaks in his preface [3]. Again, the account which St. Luke has given, ch. xix. 13. of the ſum of money, which a certain prince entruſted to ten of his ſubjects, to be employed on intereſt during his abſence, appears to be not perfectly accurate. This ſum, according to St. Luke, was ten Minas. Now the Attic Mina, according to Eiſenſchmidt, was fifteen ounces Cologne weight; in ſilver therefore it was two and twenty rix-dollars, and in gold between an hundred and twenty-four and an hundred and twenty-five ducats. The whole treaſure was at the utmoſt twelve hundred and fifty ducats. Even if we underſtood the Hebrew Mina, which, according to Eiſenſchmidt, was one pound thirteen ounces, and reckon the Mina in gold, the whole ſum will not exceed two thouſand four hundred and fifty ducats: which is really deſpicable, conſidered as a royal treaſure in the Eaſt, and in the age of the wealthy Herods, from whoſe hiſtory the whole parable was borrowed. A ſimilar parable is related by St. Matthew, ch. xxv. 14. not of a ſovereign, but of a private man: and even this perſon delivers to one of his ſervants only not leſs than five talents. The word μνα therefore, uſed by St. Luke muſt be a miſtake, which probably aroſe in the following manner. The Hebrew word מנה, if pointed מָנָה ſignifies 'a portion' or 'part,' but if pointed מָנֶה, it ſignifies 'a Mina.' Chriſt probably uſed the word in the former ſenſe, and meant to ſay, that the king delivered to ten of his ſubjects the ten portions of his treaſure. It ought therefore to have been rendered by μερος: but in conſequence of a wrong punctuation, it was improperly rendered by μνα [4].

SECT.

SECT. III.

Whether St. Luke is the ſame perſon as Lucius mentioned Acts xiii. 1. *Rom.* xvi. 21.

DR. HEUMANN in his Note to Acts xiii. 1. has endeavoured by ſeveral very probable arguments to ſhew that Lucius of Cyrene, who is called a prophet, Acts xiii. 1. and who is mentioned by St. Paul, Rom. xvi. 21. is no other than the Evangeliſt St. Luke. Lardner[d] is inclined to adopt the ſame opinion, and Wetſtein ſays in poſitive terms, that Lucas and Lucius are only different names of the ſame perſon. If this opinion were founded on fact, we ſhould derive from it material advantages: for we ſhould not only acquire a more complete knowledge of our Evangeliſt, but might aſcribe to him, without ſcruple, divine inſpiration, becauſe Lucius of Cyrene is expreſsly called a prophet, and is ſaid to have been ſelected, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, by the Apoſtle St. Paul to the miniſtry[e].

But there lie difficulties in the way of this opinion, which appear to me to be inſurmountable. That Lucius was a Jew[f], but St. Luke an heathen by birth, is an argument on which I will not inſiſt, becauſe the deduction, by which St. Luke's heathen origin is ſhewn, is not abſolutely deciſive[g]. The material objection is the following. St. Paul wrote his Epiſtle to the Romans

[d] Supplement to the Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory, Vol. I. p. 250: Lardner likewiſe obſerves that ſome entertained this opinion as long ago as the time of Origen.

[e] Acts xiii. 1, 2.

[f] Lucius was certainly a Jew, becauſe St. Paul calls him συγγενής, Rom. xvi. 21.

[g] See the firſt ſection of this chapter, Note *x*.

mans from Corinth, and Lucius was with him at that time, for St. Paul ſends a ſalutation from Lucius[h]. Conſequently if Lucas and Lucius are one and the ſame perſon, the author of the Acts of the Apoſtles muſt have been with St. Paul at Corinth, when the Epiſtle to the Romans was written. But, if we attend to the mode of writing in the Acts of the Apoſtles, we ſhall perceive that the author of this book was not at that time in Corinth. He begins to ſpeak in the firſt perſon at ch. xvi. 10. 'We endeavoured to go into Macedonia.' He was therefore at that time in company with St. Paul: and from ver. 12. where he likewiſe ſpeaks in the firſt perſon, it appears that they arrived together at Philippi. In the laſt verſe of the ſame chapter, he mentions St. Paul's departure from Philippi; and in this verſe, and likewiſe in the following chapters, he ſpeaks of St. Paul and his companions in the third perſon: 'Now when *they* had paſſed through Amphipolis[i], &c. Conſequently he ſtaid behind at Philippi, for if he had accompanied St. Paul to Corinth, he would not have altered his mode of writing. The third perſon continues as far as Acts xx. 56. where the firſt perſon is again uſed: 'Theſe going before tarried for *us* at Troas, and *we* ſailed away from Philippi, &c. Hence we perceive that the author of the Acts of the Apoſtles remained at Philippi (probably with a view of edifying the newly founded community), during the whole of St. Paul's travels, which are deſcribed in the ſeventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth chapters, and that they again joined company in the ſame city. But it was in this interval that St. Paul wrote his Epiſtle to the Romans from Corinth: and therefore the author of the Acts was not with St. Paul when he wrote that Epiſtle. Conſequently he was not the ſame perſon with Lucius, who is mentioned Rom. xvi. 21. If, in order to evade this argument, it be objected, that the Lucius of Cyrene, whom we find at Antioch, Acts xiii. 1. may be a different perſon from the Lucius, who was with

[h] Rom. xvi. 21. [i] Acts xvii. 1.

with St. Paul at Corinth, and therefore that the Evangeliſt St. Luke, though he cannot be the ſame with the latter, may yet be the ſame with the former, I anſwer that if Lucius of Cyrene, who was with St. Paul at Antioch, had been the author of the Acts, he would have ſpoken in the firſt perſon in deſcribing the tranſaction at Antioch, ch. xiii. 1—3. and would have ſaid, ver. 3. '*we* ſent them away,' not '*they* ſent them away.' Beſides, the name of Lucius ſtands before that of St. Paul, Acts xiii. 1. an arrangement which is incompatible with St. Luke's modeſty, if he himſelf were Lucius, for he would then have placed his own name before that of an Apoſtle[1].

SECT. IV.

Of the perſon of Theophilus, to whom St. Luke addreſſed his writings[1].

THAT the word Θεοφιλος is not an appellative, but a proper name, appears from the addition of the title κρατιστος. But who this perſon was, it is at preſent difficult to determine. That he was a man of rank appears from the title, which St. Luke has given him: for in the Acts of the Apoſtles, ch. xxiii. 26. xxiv. 3. xxvi. 26. this title is applied to the Roman Governors of Judæa, Felix and Feſtus. On the other hand it was not confined to men of this elevated ſtation, but was applied in the Eaſt to perſons in general, whoſe rank and office entitled them to reſpect. The word was adopted in the Palmyrene Syriac, for there are three Palmyrene inſcriptions, in each of which a certain Epitropus and Ducenarius is entitled ܩܪܛܝܣܛܘܣ, that is, κρατιστος. This title therefore determines no particular rank, and Oecumenius was certainly miſtaken, in ſaying in his Commentary on the Acts of the Apoſtles, that St. Luke's Theophilus was a Roman Gover-

nor,

nor, becauſe Felix and Feſtus had the ſame title, for Theophilus is neither a Latin name, nor does it ever occur in the Roman hiſtory, as the name of the governor of a province.'

That Theophilus was not a Chriſtian, but either a Jew or an Heathen, when St. Luke addreſſed his Goſpel to him, I think not improbable, becauſe St. Luke in his preface uſes the word κατηχηθης, from which it appears that Theophilus had then a very imperfect knowledge of the hiſtory of Chriſt[k]: and the expreſſion uſed by St. Luke ver. 1. 'among us,' that is, 'among-us-Chriſtians,' ſeems to imply that Theophilus was at that time not of the number[l].

It would be tedious and even uſeleſs to relate the various opinions of ancient writers, relative to the character and reſidence of Theophilus: for they are in general mere conjectures unſupported by hiſtorical evidence[k]. And it is the leſs neceſſary in this Introduction, becauſe whatever has been advanced on this ſubject, as well in ancient as in modern times, the reader will find examined at full length in the fourth volume of the Bibliotheca Bremenſis. I will therefore content myſelf at preſent with ſtating the reſult of the inquiries inſtituted in that work. The firſt diſſertation on Theophilus has Dr. Heumann for its author[l], who contends that this perſon was an Heathen: but he argues chiefly from the word κρατιστος, which as he ſuppoſes, not only implies a Roman governor, but one who had not embraced Chriſtianity, becauſe the Romans would not have entruſted the government of a province to a Chriſtian. But this argument is wholly inconcluſive: for the title κρατιστος, as I have already ſhewn, was not confined to governors of provinces, and it might have been applied to men of rank among the

[k] Some have ſuppoſed that he lived at Antioch, others that he lived at Alexandria; and Alexander Morus conjectured that he lived at Athens, becauſe Tacitus (Annal. Lib. II. 55.) mentions a perſon of this name who was convicted at Athens of a forgery.

[l] Bibl. Bremens. Claſſ IV. Faſcic. III. Diſſert. 3.

the Jews, for inſtance to ſuch a perſon as Nicodemus. Nor is it by any means certain that a Roman governor would have been deprived of his office for embracing Chriſtianity: for the Romans were *at that time* not inclined to perſecution, but tolerated the Chriſtian like every other religion, and Sergius Paulus, governor of Cyprus, made no ſcruple to embrace Chriſtianity[m]. The title κράτιστος therefore determines no more in favour of Heatheniſm, than of Judaiſm, or of Chriſtianity.

The ſecond diſſertation on this ſubject was written by Theodore Haſe[n], who contends that Theophilus was formerly, though not when St. Luke addreſſed his Goſpel to him, a Jewiſh High Prieſt. The arguments advanced in favour of this opinion are ſo ſtrong, as to render it more probable than any other. That a perſon of the name of Theophilus once executed the office of High Prieſt, appears from the Antiquities of Joſephus[o]. He was ſon of Annas[p], who was High Prieſt in the year in which Chriſt was crucified: and was himſelf nominated High Prieſt by the Roman Governor Vitellius, in the place of his brother Jonathan, whom Vitellius depoſed[q]. This office Theophilus held till Agrippa was appointed King of Judæa, who depoſed him and made Simon Cantheras High Prieſt. Agrippa ſoon after diſpoſſeſſed Cantheras of the High Prieſthood, and offered it again to Jonathan; but he refuſed it, and recommended his brother Matthias, who was accepted[r]. After ſeveral changes in the Prieſthood, which are of no importance in the preſent inquiry, another ſon of Annas, named Ananus, was appointed High Prieſt: ſo that Theophilus had not only himſelf preſided over the Jewiſh church, but had three

[m] Acts xiii. 4. 7. 12.

[n] Bibl. Brem. Claſs. IV. Faſcic. III. Diſſert. 3.

[o] Antiq. Lib. XVIII. XIX. XX.

[p] Antiq. Lib. XIX. 6. 2.

[q] Antiq. XVIII. 5. 3. [r] Antiq. XIX. 6. 4.

three brothers who had likewiſe executed that office. Laſtly, his own ſon Matthias was nominated High Prieſt in the place of Jeſus the ſon of Gamaliel: and it was during the Prieſthood of Matthias, that the Jewiſh war commenced[a]. Theophilus therefore, though no longer High Prieſt, when St. Luke wrote his Goſpel, yet, as he had formerly held that office, and moreover had brothers and a ſon for his ſucceſſors, he was certainly of ſufficient rank to be entitled to the appellation of κράτιστος. It is therefore not impoſſible that this perſon is the Theophilus, to whom St. Luke addreſſed his Goſpel, which muſt then be conſidered as an hiſtorical apology for the Chriſtian religion, addreſſed to one of the heads of the Jewiſh nation. Further, Ananus, the brother of Theophilus, was in the Prieſthood after the death of the Procurator Feſtus: conſequently Theophilus himſelf might have been alive, not only when St. Luke wrote his Goſpel, but likewiſe when he wrote the Acts of the Apoſtles. Laſtly, when we take into conſideration that this Theophilus is the only perſon of that name, whoſe hiſtory is recorded in the annals of the firſt century; the poſſibility that he is the ſame with St. Luke's Theophilus becomes a probability.

That St. Luke addreſſed his Goſpel to one of the heads of the Jewiſh church agrees likewiſe extremely well with the opinion, that he wrote it in Paleſtine during the time St. Paul was priſoner at Cæſarea. He had then the very beſt opportunity of tracing up the hiſtory of Chriſt to the fountain head, agreeably to what he himſelf ſays in his Preface: and, as the propagation of the new religion engaged at that time the particular attention of the leading men among the Jews[b], there could not be a fitter opportunity for preſenting to a perſon, who had once executed the important office of High Prieſt, an authentic narrative of the miracles and reſurrection of Chriſt, in vindication of

[a] Antiq. XX. 9. 1. 7.

[b] See Acts xxv. 13.—xxvi. 32.

of thoſe, who had embraced his doctrines. Nor is it improbable that St. Luke's narrative ſhould have produced ſuch an effect on the mind of this perſon, as to induce him to requeſt from the ſame author a further account of the Chriſtians, eſpecially of St. Paul, who was then priſoner in Cæſarea, which occaſioned the compoſition of St. Luke's ſecond work, the Acts of the Apoſtles. All theſe circumſtances put together render the opinion highly probable, that St. Luke's Theophilus is no other than Theophilus the ſon of Annas, who is mentioned by Joſephus. And if the opinion be true, as I really believe, it adds greatly to the credibility of St. Luke's Goſpel; for the Evangeliſt would hardly have ventured to dedicate to the ſon of that very Annas, who was High Prieſt, when Chriſt was crucified, a narrative of facts performed in Paleſtine, unleſs he had been able to warrant their truth.

The third diſſertation on St. Luke's Theophilus, in the Bibliotheca Bremenſis[u], was written by James Haſe, brother of Theodore. This writer ſuppoſes that St. Luke's Theophilus was a Jewiſh convert in Alexandria, and moreover the firſt who embraced Chriſtianity in that city. In favour of this opinion he produces the authority of Bar Bahlul, a Syrian lexicographer of the tenth century, who is quoted in Caſtelli Lexicon Heptaglotton, pag. 3859, under the article ܬܐܘܦܝܠܘܣ Theophilus. The words of Bar Bahlul, in Caſtell's Latin tranſlation are, 'Theophilus, primus credentium et celeberrimus apud Alexandrienſes, qui cum aliis Ægyptiis S. Lucam rogabat, ut eis Evangelium ſcriberet.' But an aſſertion made by a writer of the tenth century relative to what happened in the firſt century cannot be conſidered as hiſtorical evidence, when his aſſertion is not ſupported by any preceding authority. And in the preſent inſtance I have no doubt that the aſſertion is nothing more than a conjecture of Bar Bahlul founded on the common belief of the Syrians relative to the place where St. Luke wrote his Goſpel.

In

[u] Claſs. IV. Faſc. VI. Diſſ. 4.

In the ſuperſcription to St. Luke's Goſpel in the Syriac verſion it is ſaid that St. Luke wrote and preached his Goſpel at Alexandria[x]: hence Bar Bahlul concluded that the perſon to whom he addreſſed it muſt have been an inhabitant of Alexandria. Further, the author of the diſſertation in queſtion appears to be of opinion[y], though he has not poſitively advanced it, that St. Luke's Theophilus was no other than the celebrated Alexandrian Jew, Philo. But if Philo and Theophilus were one and the ſame perſon, which is in itſelf very improbable, the Alexandrine Fathers Clement and Origen muſt certainly have known it, and conſequently would not have failed to relate it. Beſides, as Philo, in the account of his embaſſy to the emperor Caius Caligula, calls himſelf at that time an old man[z], it is not very probable that he was alive, when the Acts of the Apoſtles were written, which extend as far as the end of the ſecond year of St. Paul's impriſonment in Rome, under the emperor Nero, and therefore muſt have been written more than twenty years after the embaſſy of Philo.

SECT. V.

Of the time when St. Luke wrote his Goſpel.

THE time when, as well as the place where, St. Luke's Goſpel was written, is wholly uncertain[a], Lardner, in the firſt volume of his Supplement[a] to the Credibility

[x] Ebed Jeſu ſays the ſame. See Aſſemani Bib. Orient. Tom. III. P. 1. p. 9.

[y] His own words, p. 1077. are, Equidem et ipſe illi Philo inter ſuos geſſit nomen ידידיה, ſeu Jedidæi, hoc eſt Θεοφιλου, quod ipſe in Philonis Græcum ex more tum temporis ſolemni commutavit. Hebræo enim hoc et nativo nomine Philonem citat Jedidæi Alexandrini R. Azarias in Meor Enajim, cap. 32.

[z] In the beginning of his work entitled, De legatione ad Caium.

[a] Chap. VIII. Sect. 4, 5, 6.

Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory, has examined the various opinions on this ſubject, and very clearly ſhewn the miſtakes, which had been made by his predeceſſors: but, as it often happens in dubious caſes, the opinion which he himſelf defends is equally liable to objection. All that we can affirm with certainty is, that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel before the Acts of the Apoſtles, and that the Acts of the Apoſtles were not written before the end of the ſecond year of St. Paul's impriſonment in Rome. But of the interval which elapſed, between the compoſition of the former and that of the latter, we have no knowledge; nor are there any internal marks, either in the Goſpel or in the Acts, by which we can determine whether the interval was long or ſhort. It is indeed the commonly received opinion, and Lardner has adopted it, that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel not long before the Acts of the Apoſtles; but this is mere conjecture, for though it is very poſſible that the former was written ſo late as the very year in which the latter was written, yet it is equally poſſible that it was written ten years before. One of the reaſons which Lardner aſſigns [b], namely, that St. Luke's Goſpel contains a more complete view of the Goſpel diſpenſation, than could have been expected from a perſon who wrote only a few years after the aſcenſion, is wholly foreign to the purpoſe. If the queſtion related to the work of an impoſtor, who invented ſtories and doctrines in order to deceive the world and introduce a falſe religion, the argument would be valid: for when a writer exhibits a fiction, and produces merely a work of his own invention, he cannot eaſily aſcribe to his pretended prophet a ſet of doctrines, with which he himſelf was unacquainted. But it is wholly inapplicable to the Evangeliſts, who have recorded a ſeries of doctrines, not of their own diſcovery, but which had been actually delivered by Chriſt: and therefore, whether they fully underſtood the Goſpel diſpenſation or not, when they wrote their hiſtories, it was ſurely in

[b] Chap. VIII. Sect. 5.

in their power to record, as true and faithful diſciples, what had been taught by their Lord and Maſter. Lardner's other argument, namely, that ſeveral hiſtories of Chriſt had been written before St. Luke wrote his Goſpel, as the Evangeliſt himſelf ſays in the Preface, is more to the purpoſe, but equally indeciſive. For we are wholly ignorant of the time in which the hiſtories, to which St. Luke alludes were written, and therefore we cannot argue from them to the time, when St. Luke himſelf wrote. Lardner indeed ſays, 'It cannot be reaſonably thought, that many ſhould have written hiſtories of Jeſus Chriſt preſently after his aſcenſion, nor indeed till many years after it.' But if we argue from mere probability we may with equal reaſon ſuppoſe that ſome accounts at leaſt were committed to writing ſoon after the aſcenſion. In fact we cannot conclude either one way or the other with any certainty, and the probability or improbability, which we find in the caſe itſelf, depends chiefly on the opinion, which we have already embraced. If we argue from analogy, the inference will be equally uncertain; for ſome hiſtories are written ſoon after the events, which are recorded, though other events of equal importance are not committed to writing, till long after they had happened. For inſtance, Charles XII. of Sweden had a biographer in Voltaire, within a few years after his death, whereas the life of Guſtavus Adolphus has been deſcribed by no hiſtorian before the preſent age.'

St. Luke's Goſpel therefore, for ought we know, may have been written many years before the Acts of the Apoſtles: and conſequently the opinion of Theodore Haſe, which I noticed in the preceding ſection, that it was written in Paleſtine, before St. Paul was ſent priſoner from Cæſarea to Rome, may very poſſibly be true[c]. Nay it is poſſible that St. Luke wrote before St.

[c] The ſubſcription to St. Luke's Goſpel in ſome Greek manuſcripts quoted by Wetſtein import: that it was written only fifteen years after the aſcenſion.

St. Matthew; for, though I would not undertake to prove that he did, I ſhould find it difficult to prove that he did not. It is true that according to the common arrangement of the four Goſpels; that of St. Luke is placed after that of St. Matthew: but we cannot argue from their poſition to the time in which they were written. Nor do all the manuſcripts agree in the arrangement of the Goſpels: for there are ſome, eſpecially Latin manuſcripts, in which St. John's Goſpel is placed before that of St. Matthew, though it is certain that St. John's Goſpel was written laſt [a]. It is therefore not improbable that the *common* arrangement of the three firſt Goſpels was grounded not on the time when they were written, but on the different degrees of dignity of their reſpective authors. St. Matthew had the firſt rank, becauſe he was an Apoſtle, and St. Mark the ſecond rank, becauſe he had not only been a companion of St. Peter, but had likewiſe attended St. Paul, before St. Luke attended him. Yet St. Mark, if he wrote his Goſpel after St. Peter was in Rome, wrote certainly later than St. Luke. The only Goſpel of which we can poſitively affirm that its uſual poſition correſponds to the time of its compoſition is that of St. John: but as in ſeveral manuſcripts this Goſpel has a different poſition, we ſee that the arrangement of the Goſpels leads to no concluſion whatſoever.

That St. Luke's Goſpel was really written before that of St. Matthew has been aſſerted by ſeveral commentators, in conſequence of what St. Luke ſays in his preface [d]. Macknight eſpecially has devoted to this ſubject a great part of his ſeventh Preliminary Diſſertation [e], and in addition to the argument deduced from St. Luke's preface, has drawn a concluſion in favour of

[a] Beza obſerves in a Note to Luke i. 1—4. Forſitan ex hoc loco utcunque colligi poſſet, Lucam ante Matthæum quoque et Marcum hanc ſuam hiſtoriam edidiſſe.

[e] Prefixed to his Harmony of the Goſpels. The edition which I quote is that of 1763.

of the early compoſition of this Goſpel from a paſſage in St. Paul's ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians[f], where St. Paul ſays, 'We have ſent with him the brother whoſe praiſe is in the Goſpel throughout all the churches.' That this brother was St. Luke, Macknight thinks highly probable, and quotes in favour of this interpretation the authority of Origen, Jerom[g], and the interpolator of Ignatius, who explains the paſſage in the ſame manner. But if we admit that St. Luke was the brother whom St. Paul ſent, yet the word 'Goſpel' in this paſſage ought not to be explained of St. Luke's written Goſpel: the word ευαγγελιον in the writings of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts denotes 'the glad tidings of the Chriſtian religion,' or 'the preaching of Chriſtianity in general,' and it was not till after their time, that it acquired the ſenſe of a 'written narrative of the life of Chriſt.'

Biſhop Pearce has uſed another argument in favour of the early compoſition of St. Luke's Goſpel, which he has deduced from ch. i. 5. where St. Luke, ſpeaking of Herod the Great, calls him ſimply Herod the King of Judæa, without the addition of an epithet to diſtinguiſh him from the Herod, who is mentioned Acts xii. 1. and who was likewiſe King of Judæa. Hence Pearce concludes that, St. Luke wrote his Goſpel before the ſecond Herod King of Judæa had begun to reign. But this inference is not valid, for St. Luke in ſpeaking of the ſecond Herod Acts xii. 1. calls him ſimply Herod the King, as he had named his grandfather the firſt Herod, and therefore if Pearce's argument proved any thing it would prove too much. Beſides, it was not the practice of the ancient hiſtorians to diſtinguiſh princes of the ſame name by the addition of 'the firſt,' 'the ſecond,' and ſo on, as is cuſtomary in modern ages: they left the reader to judge

[f] Ch. VIII. 18.

[g] The words of Jerom are: Hoc de Luca intelligitur, qui laudem in Evangelio conſcribendo videtur habere præ cæteris.

judge from the context, and in the caſe in queſtion St. Luke could have no reaſon whatſoever for making an exception, ſince none of his readers could ſuppoſe that the Herod, under whoſe reign Chriſt was born, was any other than Herod the Great.

But whether St. Luke wrote before St. Matthew and St. Mark or not, it is evident that he had not ſeen their Goſpels, when he wrote his own. For the 'many' of whom he ſpeaks, ch. i. 1. cannot poſſibly be confined to St. Matthew and St. Mark alone: conſequently, they muſt be either included among the many or not meant at all. But we cannot ſuppoſe that St. Luke would place the Goſpels of St. Matthew and St. Mark on a level with apocryphal Goſpels, which ſtood in need of correction. Further, St. Luke ſpeaks of the authors of theſe Goſpels, as if they themſelves were not eye-witneſſes of the facts which they had recorded, and therefore at any rate he could not have St. Matthew in view. Nor would he have neglected ver. 3. where he declares that he had traced up the hiſtory of Chriſt to the fountain head, to have quoted the authority of St. Matthew who was both Apoſtle and eye-witneſs, if the Goſpel of St. Matthew had been known to him. Laſtly, he would have avoided in that caſe every appearance of contradiction, and the variations which we find between the two Goſpels, would hardly have taken place. For inſtance, if he had ever ſeen the Genealogy of Chriſt, which is given in the firſt chapter of St. Matthew's Goſpel, he would not have given another Genealogy, which appears ſo very different from the former, without giving ſome intimation of the manner, in which they may be reconciled. At ch. v. 12. St. Luke deſcribing the cure of the leper, ſays, Εγενετο εν τω ειναι αυτον εν μια των πολεων; the name of the city therefore, in which the miracle was performed, was unknown to him, or he would not have expreſſed himſelf in ſo indeterminate a manner. But this could not have been unknown to him, if he had read St. Matthew's Goſpel,

where we ſee from ch. viii. 1—5. that the name of the city was Capernaum. At ch. vi. 17. he would either have avoided the apparent contradiction to Matth. v. 1. or would have introduced an explanation, to ſhew that the accounts were conſiſtent. Again, at ch. viii. 22. he would not have written εγενετο εν μιᾳ των ημερων, if he had read what St. Mark has written ch. iv. 32., where it appears that the fact in queſtion happened on the *ſame* day, as that which he had before related. At ch. xxii. 58. deſcribing St. Peter's denial of Chriſt, he ſays of the perſon who addreſſed St. Peter the ſecond time. ετερος ιδων αυτον, whereas it appears from the relation both of St. Matthew and St. Mark, that St. Peter was addreſſed both times by a maid ſervant. Now, though it muſt be admitted that the word ετερος may be taken indefinitely to denote either a man or a maid ſervant, becauſe we generally uſe the maſculine gender when the ſex is not particularly diſtinguiſhed, yet on the other hand, as this laſt mode of ſpeaking uſually takes place in thoſe caſes only, where the ſex is unknown to us, it follows that St. Luke was uncertain whether the perſon, who addreſſed St. Peter the ſecond time, was a male or a female, and conſequently that he had not read the accounts of St. Matthew and St. Mark.

So far then is certain that the Goſpel of St. Matthew, as well as the Goſpel of St. Mark, was unknown to St. Luke, when he wrote his own. Moreover it is certain on other accounts that St. Mark's Goſpel did not exiſt at that time: but whether St. Luke's want of knowledge of St. Matthew's Goſpel warrant the concluſion that he wrote likewiſe before St. Matthew will depend on the deciſion of the queſtion, where St. Luke's Goſpel was written. If it was written either in Aſia Minor, or in Greece, before St. Luke accompanied St. Paul to Jeruſalem, it is very poſſible that a Hebrew Goſpel written in Paleſtine, might remain unknown to him: and therefore in that caſe we cannot argue from his want of knowledge of it

to its non-exiſtence. But if it was written after the time that St. Luke had been with St. Paul in Jeruſalem, whether in Paleſtine or in Rome we muſt conclude that when St. Luke embarked with St. Paul at Cæſarea to go to Rome, St. Matthew's Goſpel had not been compoſed. For if it had, it could hardly have eſcaped the notice of St. Luke, who ſpent ſome time in Jeruſalem, was two years either in Cæſarea or its neighbourhood, and made every where the moſt diligent inquiries relative to the hiſtory of Chriſt. The queſtion therefore, whether St. Luke wrote before St. Matthew or not, depends entirely on the place where he wrote, which ſhall be the ſubject of inquiry in the next ſection.

SECT. VI.

Of the various opinions relative to the place where St. Luke wrote his Goſpel.

NOT leſs than nine different opinions have been advanced, either in ancient or in modern times, reſpecting the place where St. Luke wrote his Goſpel. They are as follows. 1. That he wrote his Goſpel at Antioch. 2. At Troas. 3. At Alexandria in Egypt, before he joined company with St. Paul. 4. In Bithynia. 5. In Macedonia. 6. In Achaia. 7. In Paleſtine. 8. At Alexandria in Egypt, after he had left St. Paul. 9. At Thebes in Egypt. According to the four firſt opinions, he muſt have written before he began to travel with St. Paul[h]: according to the five laſt,

[h] St. Luke in his account of Chriſt's Reſurrection has omitted circumſtances noted by St. Paul, for inſtance, that Chriſt appeared to five hundred brethren at once, 1 Cor. xv. 6. This favours the ſuppoſition that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel before he was acquainted with St. Paul. On the other hand he ſometimes uſes peculiar expreſſions,

laſt, at a later period. Each opinion ſhall be examined in order.

1. That St. Luke wrote his Goſpel at Antioch, has not been aſſerted, as far as I recollect, in poſitive terms, but is only implied in the notion that Theophilus, to whom St. Luke addreſſed it, was biſhop of that city. Now that this notion is erroneous every one at preſent will allow[i], and conſequently the inference deduced from it falls of itſelf to the ground. If Lucas, and Lucius mentioned xiii. 1, were the ſame perſon, it would follow that St. Luke's Goſpel might have been written at Antioch; but as the identity of Lucas and Lucius is incapable of proof, we have no ground even for a conjecture that it was written in that city.

2. The opinion that St. Luke wrote at Troas, in the Trojan diſtrict of Aſia Minor, is grounded on the ſuperſcription to St. Luke's Goſpel, which is found in the Syriac verſion, and the ſubſcription to ſeveral Greek manuſcripts[k]. For the city of Troas was properly called Alexandria Troas, and in the ſuperſcription and ſubſcription juſt mentioned, St. Luke's Goſpel is ſaid to have been written at Alexandria. It is true that the epithet there annexed to Alexandria, which in the Syriac is ܪܒܬܐ, and in the Greek μεγαλη, is unfavourable to the interpretation Alexandria Troas, becauſe the title of 'the Great' was particularly applied to Alexandria in Egypt. If therefore this epithet is not an addition of later ages, but ſtood there from the very beginning, the author of it cannot have meant Alexandria Troas, and the interpretation in queſtion muſt

ſions, which he appears to have learnt from St. Paul: for inſtance, εκκλειν, ch. xviii. 1. See Vol. I. Ch. iv. Sect. 8. But neither of theſe arguments is deciſive.

[i] The miſtake probably aroſe from a confuſion of St. Luke's Theophilus with the Theophilus who was Biſhop of Antioch in the ſecond century.

[k] See the end of St. Luke's Goſpel in Mill's and Wetſtein's edition.

muſt be falſe. But it is really now improbable that the epithet is ſpurious[k]. Alexandria Troas is the place where St. Paul firſt met with St. Luke[l], where they joined company, and whence they travelled together into Macedonia. When therefore it is ſaid that St. Luke wrote at Alexandria, one might ſuppoſe that the Alexandria, where according to his own account he had actually been, and not the Egyptian Alexandria was meant by the author of the above ſubſcription. Further the year aſſigned in the ſame ſubſcription to the time when St. Luke's Goſpel was written, favours this interpretation: for it is there ſaid to have been written in the fifteenth year after Chriſt's aſcenſion, and it was either at the end of the ſame, or at the beginning of the following year, that St. Paul arrived at Troas[m].

3. The third opinion that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel at Alexandria in Egypt, but before he joined company with St. Paul, is grounded likewiſe on the ſubſcription mentioned in the preceding article. According to this opinion, the word μεγαλη, is taken for genuine, and conſequently the Egyptian Alexandria is ſuppoſed to have been meant. Further as according to the ſame ſubſcription, St. Luke wrote his Goſpel in the fifteenth year after the aſcenſion, and the commencement of his travels with St. Paul took place ſhortly after that period, it is inferred that his viſit to Alexandria in Egypt muſt have happened before the joining company with St. Paul[n]. But as we have no hiſtorical account whatſoever of any viſit made by St. Luke in Egypt, the opinion reſts on a very unſtable foundation.

4. That

[l] This appears from St. Luke's mode of narration. For at Acts xvi. 8. he relates the arrival of St. Paul and his companions at Troas in the third perſon; *they* came to Troas. But the departure from Troas, ver. 10. is related in the firſt perſon: *we* endeavoured to go into Macedonia.

[n] Bar Bahlul, mentioned in the 4th Section of this Chapter, who makes Theophilus the firſt Chriſtian in Alexandria, argued probably in this manner from the Syriac ſubſcription.

4. That St. Luke wrote his Goſpel in Bithynia has not been aſſerted by any modern writers; but the opinion is mentioned by Jerom in the Prologue to his Expoſition of St. Matthew's Goſpel, not indeed according to the reading of the common editions, but according to the reading of ſeveral manuſcripts. The common printed text of the paſſage, to which I allude, is: Tertius Lucas, medicus, natione Syrus, Antiochenſis, cujus laus in evangelio, qui et ipſe diſcipulus Apoſtoli Pauli, *in Achaiæ Bæotiæque partibus* volumen condidit: but Martianay in a marginal note obſerves, that ſeveral manuſcripts inſtead of *Bæotiæque* read *Bithyniæque*. Now as Bithynia was not only no part of the Roman province of Achaia, but lay at a conſiderable diſtance from it, Jerom could not poſſibly have related that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel in Achaia *and* Bithynia: and therefore, if Bithyniæ is the genuine reading, *que* muſt be a miſtake in the manuſcripts for *ve*, and Jerom muſt have written *in Achaiæ Bithyniæve partibus*. According to this repreſentation he will have reported two different opinions relative to the place where St. Luke wrote, without deciding in favour of either of them. That *Bithyniæve* was the original reading, that *Bithyniæque* aroſe from it through the miſtake of a copyiſt, and that *Bæotiæque* was the reſult of a critical conjecture, founded partly on the obſcurity of the reading *Bithyniæque*, and partly on the legend that the grave of St. Luke was diſcovered in Bæotia, I will not poſitively aſſert. But this at leaſt is certain that Bithynia, a country not very far diſtant from Troas, is a much more probable place for the compoſition of St. Luke's Goſpel than Bæotia, as I ſhall ſhew in the examination of the ſixth opinion. If it be true that St. Luke wrote in Bithynia, before he joined company with St. Paul at Troas, Theophilus was probably a Bithynian, in which caſe all attempts to obtain further knowledge of him will be fruitleſs.

5. The

5. The fifth opinion, of which very little notice has hitherto been taken, but which appears to me to deſerve particular attention, refers the compoſition of St. Luke's Goſpel to a city in Macedonia. It is founded on the following ſubſcription to the Arabic verſion of St. Luke's Goſpel, which was publiſhed by Erpenius: 'He (St. Luke) wrote it in Greek, in a Macedonian city, two and twenty years after Chriſt's aſcenſion, and in the fourteenth year of the Emperor Claudius.' Now this account agrees extremely well with St. Luke's long ſtay at Philippi[n], not only in reſpect to the place, as Philippi is in Macedonia, but likewiſe in reſpect to the time; for it was in the latter part of the reign of the Emperor Claudius that St. Luke reſided there. This appears from Acts xviii. 2. where we find that St. Paul, who had left St. Luke behind him at Philippi, met on his arrival at Corinth with Aquila and Priſcilla, who had been obliged to leave Rome in conſequence of an edict of the Emperor Claudius, that all the Jews ſhould depart from that city. This edict was given toward the end of Claudius's reign: conſequently, as St. Luke continued ſome time at Philippi, the account that he was in a city of Macedonia in the fourteenth, that is, in the laſt year of Claudius, has hiſtorical evidence in its favour. It is true, that we neither know the author of this Arabic ſubſcription, nor the ſource from which he derived his information: but as it has ſtrong internal marks of probability, or at leaſt none of improbability, it is entitled to a high rank among the various opinions relative to the place where St. Luke's Goſpel was compoſed. If St. Luke's object in remaining at Philippi, while St. Paul travelled into other countries, was to give further inſtructions to thoſe whom the Apoſtle had converted to Chriſtianity, and to form a community of Chriſtians in that city, he could not have more completely effected his purpoſe, than by delivering them a written narrative of the birth, the miracles, and

[n] See the latter part of the third Section of this Chapter.

and the resurrection of Christ. The Greek name Theophilus agrees likewise with the opinion that he wrote in a Grecian city[n]. The only objections which can be made to it, are: first, that St. Paul, in his second Epistle to the Corinthians[o], represents the Macedonian Christians as being extremely poor, whereas Theophilus, as appears from the title which St. Luke has given him, was a man of rank: and secondly, that St. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians has greeted no person of the name of Theophilus, nor in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, which he wrote in Macedonia, has mentioned Theophilus as greeting the Corinthians. But neither of these objections are of any weight. For we are not certain that Theophilus was a Christian[q]: and if he were, there is no necessity for supposing, either that he lived in the city of Philippi, or that he was acquainted with the members of the Corinthian community[r].

In the preceding paragraph I have interpreted the words of the Arabic subscription, 'a Macedonian city,' as denoting 'a city of Macedonia,' as it appears to me, that they admit of no other interpretation. But James Hase, in a dissertation inserted in the Bibliotheca Bremensis[p], has endeavoured to shew that the author of this Arabic subscription understood by 'Macedonian city,' the city of Alexandria in Egypt. In support of this position he has quoted several passages, but all of them from poetical works, in which the epithets, Pellæus, Emathius, Macedonicus, are applied to Egypt in general, or to the capital of that country, Alexandria, in particular. Now no one will deny that these epithets were often applied, especially by the poets, to the Egyptian Alexandria, in consequence of its having been

[o] Ch. viii. 2, 3.

[p] Class. IV. Fascic. 4. Dissert. 9. The title of the dissertation is, Jacobi Hasæi Observatio geographico-critica qua Macedonicam civitatem, et Alexandrian Magnam, in quarum altera Arabs, altera Syrus Græcique interpretes D. Lucam Evangelium consignasse produnt, eandem civitatem, et quidem Ægyptiacam Alexandriam, esse ostenditur.

been founded and governed by Macedonian princes. But we muſt not interpret the plain language of a proſe-writer, as we would interpret the figurative language of a poet. The impropriety of ſuch an interpretation will appear more conſpicuouſly, if we take an inſtance from the preſent period. A poet might call Liſbon, in conſequence of the numerous Engliſh families, which are ſettled in that city, the Engliſh Liſbon: yet no bibliographer would ſay of a book, which was printed in Liſbon, that it was printed in an Engliſh city. In like manner, the author of the Arabic ſubſcription, if he had meant to ſay that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel at Alexandria, would not have ſaid that he wrote it in a Macedonian city. That the author of the Syriac ſubſcription referred the compoſition of St. Luke's Goſpel to Alexandria, is no proof that the author of the Arabic ſubſcription intended to do the ſame; eſpecially as we know from the Acts that St. Luke ſtaid ſome time in the country of Macedonia properly ſo called, but we no where read in the Acts of a journey into Egypt.

Before I proceed to examine the four other opinions, it will be neceſſary to make a few general obſervations on the five which have been already examined. If it were certain that St. Paul in his ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians, ch. viii. 18. where he ſpeaks of the brother, whoſe praiſe is in the Goſpel, meant St. Luke and the Goſpel written by that Evangeliſt, one of the five preceding opinions muſt be the true one: for the four laſt, which I have hereafter to examine, refer the compoſition of St. Luke's Goſpel to a later period than the time of St. Paul's writing his ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians[r]. I have already obſerved in the preceding ſection,

[r] This is obvious of the three laſt of the nine opinions: and it is equally true of the ſixth, which makes Achaia the country in which St. Luke wrote his Goſpel. For I have ſhewn that St. Luke ſtaid behind at Philippi, and did not accompany St. Paul to Corinth. But the ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians was written on St. Paul's return to Macedonia. If therefore St. Luke ever was in Achaia, he muſt have been there at a later period.

ſection, that the word εὐαγγέλιον, as uſed by the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, does not denote a written narrative of the life of Chriſt, and therefore that St. Paul can hardly be ſuppoſed in the paſſage in queſtion to allude to the Goſpel of St. Luke. It is moreover probable that by the expreſſion, 'the brother whoſe praiſe is in the Goſpel,' he meant a totally different perſon from St. Luke. For this 'brother,' as appears from the quoted paſſage, was ſent by St. Paul to Corinth: yet though St. Paul himſelf went to Corinth[6] ſoon after he had written this Epiſtle, St. Luke was not with him, when he again departed from that city, for, according to Acts xx. 3-6. St. Luke went from Philippi (where he had ſtaid ſeveral years) to join company with St. Paul at Troas[7]. Beſides, as this 'brother' was ſent with Titus, in order to remove all ſuſpicions of Paul's making an improper uſe of the contributions of the Corinthians[8], St. Luke, who was his intimate friend and companion, was by no means qualified to anſwer that purpoſe. And if we may judge from what St. Paul ſays, 2 Cor. viii. 23, 24. both of the brethren, who are there oppoſed to Titus, whom St. Paul calls his partner and fellow-helper, were deputies from the churches in Macedonia[9].

But many of the ancient Fathers have given a different interpretation of this paſſage, and underſtood St. Luke as the perſon meant by St. Paul: and the word Goſpel ſeveral of them have explained as denoting the written Goſpel of St. Luke. What Origen, Chryſoſtom, Jerom and Theophylact have ſaid on this ſubject I will ſubjoin

[7] See 2 Cor. viii. 20.

[9] Who they were it is impoſſible to determine: but as Sopater, Ariſtarchus, and Secundus were Macedonians (ſee Acts xx. 4.), it is not impoſſible that two out of theſe three perſons were the brethren of whom St. Paul ſpeaks, 2 Cor. viii. 18-23.

ſubjoin in a note [t], that the reader may be able to form a judgement, without the trouble of turning to the authors themſelves. Now whether their explanations be right, or whether they be wrong, it neceſſarily follows that they who gave them could never have heard, or at leaſt they could not have believed, that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel, either in Paleſtine, or in Rome, or in Alexandria after he had left Rome. For in that caſe they could not even have conjectured that St. Paul alluded to St. Luke's Goſpel in his ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians, which was undoubtedly written before St. Luke accompanied St. Paul into Paleſtine. But their explanations do not neceſſarily imply that they had never heard of St. Luke's having written in Achaia. For, though it is certain from St. Luke's mode of writing in the Acts of the Apoſtles, that he ſtaid behind at Philippi, that he did not go with St. Paul into Achaia, and conſequently, if he ever was in that diſtrict, that he muſt have been there after St. Paul had written his ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians: yet as the Fathers, through want of attention to St. Luke's mode

[t] Origen, in his firſt homily to St. Luke's Goſpel (Tom. III. p. 983. ed. Benedict.) ſpeaking of Luke i. 3. ſays, according to the words of the Latin tranſlation now extant, 'Inculcat ac replicat, quoniam ea, quæ ſcripturus eſt, non rumore cognorit, ſed ab initio ipſe fuerit conſecutus. Unde et ab Apoſtolo merito collaudatur dicente, cujus laus in Evangelio eſt per omnes eccleſias.' Chryſoſtom expreſſes himſelf ſtill more decidedly: for at the beginning of his Commentary to the Acts of the Apoſtles (Tom. IX. p. 2. ed. Montfaucon) he ſays of St. Paul, 'In his Epiſtle to the Corinthians he writes of him, whoſe praiſe is in the Goſpel throughout all the churches. And when he mentions, that Chriſt appeared to Cephas, and then to the twelve, and adds, *according to the Goſpel, which ye have received,* he means the Goſpel of St. Luke.' Chryſoſtom delivers again the ſame opinion, p. 4. 5. But Theophylact appears to have been in doubt, whether St. Paul really alluded to St. Luke's Goſpel at 2 Cor. viii. 18.: for in his Note to this paſſage he ſays only, 'Some apply theſe words to St. Luke, becauſe he wrote a Goſpel: others apply them to Barnabas, for the Apoſtles uſed the term Goſpel to denote even a verbal preaching.' What Jerom ſays on this ſubject has been quoted in the preceding ſection.

mode of writing, might ſuppoſe that he attended St. Paul from Philippi to Corinth, a report, that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel in Achaia, would appear to them perfectly conſiſtent with the opinion that St. Paul alluded to it in his ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians. Whether it be true that he wrote in Achaia or not, will be examined in the article which now follows.

6. When it is ſaid that St. Luke's Goſpel was written in Achaia, this word muſt not be taken in the confined ſenſe, in which it was uſed by the ancient Greeks, but in the more extenſive ſenſe in which it was uſed by the Romans, who gave the name of Achaia to the whole ſouthern part of Greece, in oppoſition to Macedonia, which was the northern province. Bœotia therefore was a part of the Roman province of Achaia, and conſequently when it is ſaid that St. Luke wrote in Bœotia in particular, it does not contradict the general aſſertion that he wrote in Achaia[v]. Of the various countries which have been aſſigned for the compoſition of this Goſpel, Lardner[w] thinks Achaia the moſt probable. Beſide the authority of Jerom, he quotes a verſe, from the metrical catalogue of canonical books by Gregory of Nazianzum, where St. Luke is ſaid to have written for Achaia[x]. Further, he appeals to the ſtory, that the bones of St. Luke were brought to Conſtantinople in the time of the emperor Conſtantius from Thebes in Bœotia, where, according to Nicephorus, St. Paul converted him to Chriſtianity.

But that St. Luke wrote in Achaia appears to me much leſs probable than it did to Lardner. For in the firſt place, though it were true that St. Luke was buried in Achaia, yet this circumſtance could not afford the ſmalleſt preſumption that he wrote his Goſpel there. If

[v] The paſſage in which Jerom ſays of St. Luke, *in Achaiæ Bœotiæque partibus volumen condidit*, has been already quoted in this ſection.

[w] Supplement, P. II. Vol. i. p. 268. and following pages.

[x] Λουκᾶς Ἀχαιάδι.

If St. Luke died in Achaia, he muſt have gone thither from Rome after the ſecond year of St. Paul's impriſonment was expired: and indeed later, for we find him with St. Paul in Rome, not only when the Apoſtle wrote his Epiſtle to the Coloſſians [y], and his Epiſtle to Philemon [z], but likewiſe when he wrote his ſecond Epiſtle to Timothy [a]. Hence it appears that the inference that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel in Achaia, is not only unwarranted by the circumſtance, that he died there, but is alſo improbable in itſelf. Further, the ſtory of St. Luke's grave at Thebes in Bœotia gave riſe to other inferences, which are undoubtedly falſe: for inſtance, that he was firſt converted to Chriſtianity in that city; which can no more be true of Thebes in Bœotia, than of Thebes in Egypt, for he was become a fellow-traveller and fellow-labourer of St. Paul before he went into Greece [b]. The former inference therefore, which is drawn from the ſame premiſes, is expoſed at leaſt to the ſuſpicion of being equally falſe. Laſtly, this very inference, inſtead of being ſupported by the opinion of the Fathers, who ſuppoſed that St. Paul alluded to St. Luke's Goſpel in his ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians, is directly contradicted by it. For if they believed that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel in Achaia, they muſt have underſtood it of the time, when he viſited Greece in company with St. Paul, and before St. Paul's impriſonment either in Cæſarea or Rome, as I have ſhewn in the preceding article. It is likewiſe contradicted by the Greek ſubſcriptions to St. Luke's Goſpel, which refer the compoſition of it either to the fifteenth or twenty-ſecond year after the aſcenſion: for if St. Luke went into Achaia after St. Paul's impriſonment in Rome, he muſt have gone thither above thirty years after the aſcenſion. But that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel at ſo late a period, is improbable, and ſupported by no authority.

7. The

[y] Coloſſ. iv. 14. [z] Philem. 24

[a] 2 Tim. iv. 11. [b] See Acts xvi. 10.

7. The ſeventh opinion reſpecting the place, where St. Luke wrote his Goſpel is that of Theodore Haſe[s], who contends that he wrote it in Paleſtine, while St. Paul was priſoner in Cæſarea. It is true that this opinion has no hiſtorical evidence in its favour: but no objection can be made to it on this ground, for the accounts in general, which ancient writers have delivered on this ſubject, are ſo very contradictory and inconſiſtent, that not one of them is entitled to the name of hiſtorical evidence. They are merely the reſult of private opinion, and therefore have no more authority, merely as ſuch, than the opinion of a modern writer. The only queſtion to be aſked, is, which of the ſeveral hypotheſes, whether advanced in early or in later ages, has the greater ſhare of internal probability. Now in order to determine, whether the hypotheſis, that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel in Paleſtine, while St. Paul was priſoner in Cæſarea, is probable or not, we muſt aſk this previous queſtion, Had St. Matthew written his Goſpel at that time, or had he not?

If St. Matthew had already written his Goſpel, when St. Luke came with St. Paul into Paleſtine, one might ſuppoſe that it would not have eſcaped the notice of a writer, who took all poſſible pains to collect accounts of the hiſtory of Chriſt. Yet we muſt conclude both from St. Luke's preface, and the variations between his Goſpel and that of St. Matthew, that he had no knowledge of it. This objection however is not of ſo much weight as it appears to be. For we are not certain that St. Luke underſtood Hebrew[s], or if he did, that St. Matthew's Goſpel was known at Cæſarea, a city inhabited chiefly by Greeks and Romans. If he did not underſtand Hebrew, he might have heard of St. Matthew's Goſpel, and yet not have been able to uſe it, as it is very poſſible that no Greek tranſlation of it then exiſted. I can produce a caſe in point in regard to myſelf:

[s] Biblioth. Bremenſ. Claſſ. IV. p. 516.

myſelf: for about forty years ago I read lectures on the Ruſſian hiſtory, yet for want of knowledge of the Ruſſian language, I took not the leaſt notice of Neſtor, though he is the principal hiſtorian of the Ruſſians.

On the other hand if St. Matthew had not written his Goſpel, when St. Paul was priſoner at Cæſarea, St. Luke, if he wrote at that time, wrote before St. Matthew. But if he wrote before St. Matthew, and not only wrote in Paleſtine, but dedicated his Goſpel to a perſon, who in the opinion of Theodore Haſe, had been High Prieſt at Jeruſalem, it may be objected that ſuch a Goſpel could not have been overlooked by St. Matthew. Dr. Storr indeed aſſerts that St. Matthew not only read, but even copied from St. Luke's Goſpel[9]. But this appears to me incredible, for an author, who was eye-witneſs to the facts, which he related, would hardly borrow his materials from a writer, who was not an eye-witneſs: nor do I believe that he had even read St. Luke's Goſpel, for if he had, he would have avoided many apparent contradictions, which he might eaſily have removed by a ſhort explanation, and ſometimes by the addition of a ſingle word. Since therefore St. Luke's Goſpel was certainly unknown to St. Matthew, the queſtion to be aſked is, whether this circumſtance is conſiſtent with the ſuppoſition that St. Luke wrote in Paleſtine before St. Matthew? Now I think it is not abſolutely inconſiſtent: for if St. Luke wrote his Goſpel at Cæſarea, and ſent it to a Jewiſh High Prieſt, it is at leaſt poſſible that ſome years elapſed before copies of it were ſpread abroad among the Chriſtians in Paleſtine. Beſides, as the ſuppoſition that St. Matthew wrote ſo late, is improbable, the objections which are grounded on it, reſt on a very unſtable foundation. The opinion that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel in Paleſtine, while St. Paul was priſoner in Cæſarea, implies neither that he wrote before, nor that he wrote after St. Matthew. On this laſt head, we may adopt whatever ſuppoſition appears to be the moſt conſiſtent with it.—Whether the opinion be true or not, I will

not undertake to determine, but will leave it to the deciſion of the reader [c].

8. The eighth opinion on this ſubject is, that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel at Alexandria in Egypt, after he had been with St. Paul in Rome. In ſupport of this opinion appeal has been made to the ſubſcription to St. Luke's Goſpel in ſeveral Greek manuſcripts, in which, as well as in the Syriac verſion, St. Luke is ſaid to have written at Alexandria the Great, by which is meant Alexandria in Egypt. But the ſame Greek ſubſcription contradicts the latter part of this opinion, for it aſſigns the fifteenth year after the aſcenſion for the time of its compoſition, which was long before St. Paul's Journey to Rome. However Grabe and Mill have argued very ſtrenuouſly in ſupport of this opinion, and their arguments are ſo plauſible, that they induced me to ſubſcribe to it in the firſt edition of this Introduction. But ſince I have read Lardner's objections [d], I have ſo far altered my ſentiments, that, though I will not affirm it is abſolutely falſe, I think it at leaſt very uncertain. Simeon Metaphraſtes, to whom Grabe appeals, lived ſo late as the tenth century; and is therefore on that account, as well as ſeveral others, of no authority in determining a fact, which happened in the firſt century. Beſides, as Lardner has rightly obſerved, he does not ſay that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel at Alexandria, but only that he preached there. Nor has Oecumenius, to whom Mill appealed, but without quoting any particular paſſage, aſſerted that St. Luke wrote at Alexandria: for Lardner, who was perfectly well acquainted with the writings of the Fathers, declares that he could find no ſuch aſſertion in Oecumenius. Further, the advocates for this opinion have appealed to the work, which goes by the name of the Apoſtolic Conſtitutions, of which the author is unknown, and to which we have no reaſon to give much credit. Beſide the objections, which Lardner has made to

[d] Supplement, P. II. Vol. i. p. 270, 271.

to this work in general, a particular objection may be made to that very chapter[e], in which St. Luke's ſuppoſed reſidence in Alexandria is mentioned. It is there ſaid: 'The firſt biſhop of Alexandria, Anianus, was ordained by the Evangeliſt St. Mark, and his ſucceſſor Avilius by the Evangeliſt St. Luke.' Now if this were true, St. Luke muſt have been at Alexandria after St. Mark had been there, in which caſe St. Mark's Goſpel would hardly have remained unknown to him. Further, as St. Mark wrote his Goſpel in Rome while St. Peter was there, and St. Peter certainly did not go to Rome till ſome time after St. Paul, St. Mark's journey into Egypt muſt have taken place at ſo late a period, that St. Luke could hardly have written his Goſpel at a ſtill later time. Beſides, he was with St. Paul at Rome in the year 66 or 67, when the ſecond Epiſtle to Timothy was written, as appears from 2 Tim. iv. 11.

9. The ninth and laſt opinion is, that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel at Thebes in Egypt. This opinion is grounded partly on the ſuppoſed journey of St. Luke into Egypt mentioned in the preceding article, and partly on the report mentioned in the fifth article that he wrote at Thebes in Bœotia, which, it is ſaid, was confounded with Thebes in Egypt. But, ſince not only the inference is unwarranted, but the premiſes from which it is drawn, are themſelves uncertain, this opinion falls of itſelf to the ground. But if any one ſhould think it neceſſary to have a particular confutation of it, he may have recourſe to Lardner's Supplement[f].

[e] Ch. xlvi. [f] Vol. I. p. 271—273.

SECT. VII.

Reſult of the inquiries inſtituted in the preceding ſection.

IT appears from what has been ſaid in the preceding ſection, that of the nine opinions reſpecting the place where St. Luke wrote his Goſpel, there are only two of which it can be ſaid, that they have hiſtorical accounts in their favour: namely, that which refers the compoſition of it to Troas in the fifteenth year after the aſcenſion, and that which refers its compoſition to Macedonia in the twenty-ſecond year after the aſcenſion. But then theſe hiſtorical accounts are of ſuch a nature that they hardly deſerve the name of evidence: for they are contained in the ſubſcriptions to St. Luke's Goſpel, the authors of which are unknown, and who probably gave nothing more than their own conjectures. The moſt ancient Fathers appear not to have known either the time, or the place where St. Luke wrote: and therefore what later writers have aſſerted is hardly entitled to more credit, than what is aſſerted by an author of the eighteenth century. Euſebius, whoſe object was to collect whatever information could be procured reſpecting the four Evangeliſts, has not ſaid a ſyllable either on the time or the place where St. Luke wrote: nor of the perſon and character of Theophilus. We muſt conclude therefore that Euſebius was not able to procure any intelligence on this ſubject, at leaſt none on which he could depend. Origen is equally ſilent on the time and place where St. Luke's Goſpel was written: and when he ſpeaks of Theophilus, inſtead of communicating information of his perſon and character, he gives an explanation founded on the compoſition of the Greek word Θεοφιλος, which ſhews that he had no real information to communicate.

Under theſe circumſtances we muſt be directed in our choice of the moſt eligible opinion, not by external,

but by internal evidence. Now in favour of Troas is the circumſtance that this was the place, where St. Paul firſt met with St. Luke, and took him into his company: in favour of Macedonia, that he reſided there for ſome time, while St. Paul was travelling in other countries: and in favour both of Troas and Macedonia is the circumſtance, that either ſuppoſition will account for St. Luke's want of knowledge of St. Matthew's Goſpel. On the other hand there are two circumſtances againſt both of theſe opinions. For if he wrote either at Troas, or in a city of Macedonia, it is difficult to comprehend how the many apocryphal Goſpels, to which he alludes in his preface, could have been propagated in Greece at ſo early a period: and ſecondly, he had no opportunity either in Troas or in Macedonia of tracing up the hiſtory of Chriſt to its ſource, and of conſulting thoſe who had been eye-witneſſes to the ſeveral facts, which he has recorded. The latter objection may indeed be removed by the ſuppoſition that he had been at Jeruſalem, before he went thither with St. Paul: but for this ſuppoſition we have no foundation whatſoever.

In favour of the opinion that he wrote his Goſpel in Egypt, is the circumſtance that St. Luke alluded to apocryphal Goſpels, and that of all the apocryphal Goſpels now extant, the Goſpel according to the Egyptians is ſuppoſed to be the moſt ancient. This argument however will be of no weight, if it be true that the Goſpel according to the Egyptians was not written before the ſecond century[x]. Another circumſtance in favour of this opinion is, that there are ſeveral paſſages in St. Luke's Goſpel, which, as I ſhall ſhew in the next ſection, are particularly applicable to the Eſſenes, who were very numerous in Egypt. But againſt this opinion may be alleged the following arguments. Firſt, St. Luke has totally omitted the flight of Joſeph and Mary with Jeſus into Egypt, and omitted it in ſuch

[x] Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory, P. II. Vol. II. p. 527-530.

ſuch a manner as to produce a very ſtrong apparent contradiction between what he has related, ch. ii. 22—39. and the relation of St. Matthew, ch. ii. 13—23. Now as this part of the hiſtory of Chriſt would have particularly intereſted the Egyptians, St. Luke would hardly have paſſed it over in ſilence, if he had written his Goſpel in Egypt. Beſides, the apparent contradiction between the accounts of St. Matthew and St. Luke would be conſiderably augmented, if it were true that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel in Egypt: for his total ſilence of the flight of Joſeph into that country might then be conſtrued into a poſitive contradiction to St. Matthew's account. Secondly, if St. Luke had ſpent ſome time in Egypt, he would probably have communicated in the Acts of the Apoſtles ſome information relative to the propagation of Chriſtianity in that country[h]. But St. Luke, though he has very circumſtantially deſcribed the propagation of the Chriſtian religion in Syria, Cyprus, Aſia minor, and Greece, has no where related its introduction into Egypt: nor has he mentioned any circumſtance that could intereſt the Egyptians in particular, if we except the account which he has given Acts viii. 27. of the converſion of the eunuch who came from the court of Candace[i]. Thirdly, the time aſſigned in the Greek ſubſcriptions to the compoſition of St. Luke's Goſpel in Egypt, is the fifteenth year after the aſcenſion. But it appears from Acts xviii. 24—26. that Apollos, when he came from Alexandria, which according to St. Luke's narrative was certainly later than the fifteenth year after the aſcenſion, had been inſtructed only in the baptiſm of John. Now as Apollos is ſaid, ver. 24, to have been converſant in the Scriptures, St. Luke's Goſpel, if

[h] The Chriſtian religion ſoon ſpread itſelf into Egypt, though at firſt it was taught there in a very imperfect manner. See Acts xviii. 24—26.

[i] Queen of Meroe in Nubia. See the Spicilegium geographiæ Hebræorum exteræ, Tom. I. p. 176—188.

if it had been already written in the country, from which he came, would hardly have eſcaped his notice: but in that caſe his knowledge would not have been confined to the baptiſm of John. If therefore St. Luke wrote in Egypt he muſt have written at a later period: either during the three years that St. Paul remained in Epheſus*, or after he had left St. Paul in Rome.

Laſtly, the opinion that St. Luke wrote his Goſpel in Paleſtine, while St. Paul was priſoner at Cæſarea, though not confirmed by hiſtorical evidence, is ſupported at leaſt by its own internal probability. It is moreover an opinion to which, as far as I know, no material objections can be made: and therefore, though it is only conjecture, it is perhaps more eligible, than any one of the traditionary reports.

If St. Luke had given us a ſhort account of his own hiſtory, we might have been enabled to form a deciſive judgement on this ſubject. But ſince his peculiar modeſty has prevented him from ſaying any thing of himſelf, it is impoſſible to determine either where, or when, he wrote his Goſpel. I once thought that the deciſion was eaſy: but the more I have inquired, the more I have learnt to doubt.

* During theſe three years St. Luke was abſent from St. Paul, as well as during his reſidence at Corinth, having as I have already obſerved parted company at Philippi. It is therefore poſſible that St. Luke, while St. Paul was at Epheſus, took a journey from Philippi into Egypt, and returned, before St. Paul came again into Macedonia. But it is mere poſſibility, for we no where find the ſmalleſt traces of any ſuch journey.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

Of the motive, which induced St. Luke to write a Goſpel.

IT has been ſuppoſed by ſeveral perſons that St. Luke not only wrote his Goſpel at the requeſt of St. Paul, but that St. Paul even dictated what St. Luke wrote. This notion took its riſe from a falſe interpretation of a paſſage in St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Romans[1]: and that St. Luke wrote of his own accord, and of his own authority, appears from the expreſſion εδοξε καμοι, which he has uſed in the preface to his Goſpel. He there aſſigns the motive which induced him to ſend to Theophilus an authentic narrative of the miracles and reſurrection of Chriſt, which, to uſe his own words, was the following, επειδηπερ πολλοι επεχειρησαν αναταξασθαι διηγησιν περι των πεπληροφορημενων εν ημιν πραγματων. To the accounts of theſe 'many,' he muſt certainly have had ſome objections to make, for no man would argue thus: ſince ſeveral perſons have delivered accounts of Chriſt, on which perfect reliance may be placed, I have likewiſe thought proper to write the hiſtory of Chriſt. We muſt conclude therefore, that his intention was to correct the inaccuracies of the accounts, which were then in circulation, and to deliver to Theophilus a true and genuine document, in order to ſilence ſeveral idle ſtories, which might have prejudiced Theophilus againſt the Chriſtian religion[2].

Mill and Grabe have ſuppoſed, and perhaps not without ſome reaſon, that St. Luke had particularly in view the Goſpel according to the Egyptians, of which the fragments that are now extant may be ſeen in Fabricii Codex Apocryphus[m]. The Eſſenes were at that time in great repute in Egypt, and the fragments of

[1] Ch. ii. 16. [2] Vol. I. p. 335—337.

of the Egyptian Goſpel ſhew that the author of it was an Eſſene, for they contain the tenets of this ſect relative to the prohibition of matrimony. It is really to be lamented, that we have not the Egyptian Goſpel complete, for we ſhould then be enabled to determine with more preciſion whether Grabe's opinion be true or not. Lardner indeed contends, that the Goſpel according to the Egyptians was not written before the ſecond century, though other critics aſſert that it is the moſt ancient of the apocryphal Goſpels. But whether the Egyptian Goſpel exiſted, or not, at the time when St. Luke wrote, he appears in ſeveral paſſages of his Goſpel to have had the Eſſenes in view*. The following may ſerve as examples.

St. Luke is the only Evangeliſt, who mentions Chriſt's particular command to his diſciples to ſell their lands in Paleſtine, (which however would have been taken from them in a time of perſecution), and to give the money to the poor[p]; a command which did not extend to every Chriſtian, but was neceſſary for the Jewiſh converts in Paleſtine, ſince thoſe lands might have proved a ſnare to them, and have tempted them to return to Judaiſm*. In the fourth, fifth, and ſixth chapters of the Acts of the Apoſtles he deſcribes at full length the conſtitution of the Chriſtian church at Jeruſalem: and relates that the members of this church ſold their property and eſtabliſhed a common fund, or rather a common depoſitory of alms for the poor; for I much doubt whether they had a perfect community of goods, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word. Now this account has no neceſſary connection with St. Luke's principal object in the Acts of the Apoſtles: but he ſeems to have related it

* In writing a commentary on St. Luke, other apocryphal Goſpels might be likewiſe applied to advantage: for they might enable us to explain ſeveral paſſages, where the Evangeliſt endeavoured to correct the falſe notions, which then prevailed.

[p] Luke xii. 33, 34.

it for the ſake of the Eſſenes, who likewiſe lived without property, and had every thing in common[3].

St. Luke is the only Evangeliſt, who has related the converſation between Gabriel and Mary[4]: and he probably related it with a view of correcting a falſe account of the appearance of Gabriel, inſerted in an apocryphal Goſpel, of which I think ſome traces are ſtill viſible in the Koran. It is well known that Mohammed took moſt of his accounts concerning Chriſt from the falſe Goſpels, which in his time ſtill circulated in Arabia: and in the third chapter of the Koran he has given a long but inaccurate narrative of the birth of Chriſt and John the Baptiſt, of which we find the true account in St. Luke's Goſpel. I believe therefore that Mohammed derived his intelligence from that very Goſpel which St. Luke intended to correct: eſpecially as, contrary to the uſual practice of Mohammed, he has here a paſſage which favours perpetual virginity, an eſſential doctrine of the Eſſenes, and has here given to Chriſt the appellation of the Word of God, a title generally applied to him by thoſe, who had been educated in the Egyptian or oriental philoſophy. After having related, in the third chapter of the Koran, the birth of Mary, her education in the temple, the annunciation of the birth of John the Baptiſt, and the dumbneſs of Zacharias, Mohammed proceeds, ver. 40—43. as follows[4]: 'The angel ſaid, O Mary, verily God ſendeth thee good tidings, that thou ſhalt bear the Word proceeding from himſelf: his name ſhall be Chriſt Jeſus the ſon of Mary, honourable in this world and in the world to come, and one of thoſe, who

[3] Ch. i. 26—38.

[4] According to St. Luke, ch. i. 30, 31. the angel ſaid to Mary: 'Fear not Mary, for thou haſt found favour with God: and behold, thou ſhalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a ſon, and ſhalt call his name Jeſus.'

who approach near to the preſence of God[s]: and he ſhall ſpeak unto men in the cradle, and when he is grown up, he ſhall be one of the righteous. She anſwered, Lord, how ſhall I have a ſon ſince a man hath not touched me? The angel ſaid, So God createth that which he pleaſeth: when he decreeth a thing, he only ſaith unto it, Be, and it is.' In the nineteenth chapter of the Koran, Mohammed has given another extract from an apocryphal Goſpel relative to the appearance of the angel Gabriel to Mary, which is as follows. 'She (namely Mary) retired from her family to a place toward the eaſt, and took a veil to conceal herſelf. And we ſent our Spirit Gabriel unto her, and he appeared unto her in the ſhape of a perfect man. She ſaid, I fly for refuge unto the merciful God, that he may defend me from thee: if thou feareſt him, thou wilt not approach me. He anſwered, verily I am the meſſenger of thy Lord, and am ſent to give thee a holy Son.' Other paſſages, which Mohammed had taken from apocryphal Goſpels, might be ſelected from the Koran, and added as a Supplement to Fabricii Codex Apocryphus.

What St. Luke has related ch. xvii. 20, 21. of the queſtion propoſed to Chriſt concerning the kingdom of heaven, and the anſwer which he gave, appears to be a correction of the following inaccurate account, which had been given of it in the Egyptian Goſpel[t]. Επερωτηθεις αυτος ο Κυριος υπο τινος, ωοτε ηξει αυτε η βασιλεια, ειπεν· οταν το της αισχυνης ενδυμα ωατησητε, και οταν εσαι τα δυο εν, και τα εξω ως τα εσω, και το αρσεν μετα της Θηλειας ωτε αρσεν ωτε Θηλυ[s].

In this manner St. Luke improved and corrected the accounts, which were then in circulation, of the hiſtory

[s] Luke i. 32. 'He ſhall be great, and ſhall be called the Son of the Higheſt.'

[t] Fabricii Codex Apocryphus, Tom. I. p. 335.

tory of Chriſt. For this undertaking he is entitled to our warmeſt thanks: as in conſequence of the accurate inquiries which he made, he was enabled to diſtinguiſh truth from falſehood, and to communicate a hiſtory, on which we can depend. It is true that the accounts contained in the hiſtories, which it was St. Luke's object to correct, were not wholly fabulous, and the mere inventions of the authors who recorded them: but they contained ſo much falſehood intermixed with truth, that a correction of them was abſolutely neceſſary. The ſame thing happened to theſe hiſtories, as happens to our modern gazettes, when a battle or a ſiege is deſcribed. The main ſtory is true, but in paſſing through different hands, it generally acquires an acceſſion of circumſtance, which are totally devoid of truth. Official intelligence alone is certain: and ſuch certain intelligence we have received from St. Luke [u].

[u] St. Luke's Goſpel alone was admitted by Marcion, who made however many alterations in it, ſo as to render it more ſuitable to his own ſyſtem. But not all the alterations in Marcion's copy are to be conſidered as wilful corruptions; for ſeveral of them are nothing more, than what modern critics call various readings [6].

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

OF ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL[w].

SECT. I.

Of the life and character of St. John.

THAT St. John the Evangeliſt was one of the twelve Apoſtles, ſon of Zebedee and Salome, and brother of the elder James, appears from Matth. iv. 21. xxvii. 55, 56. Mark xv. 40. xvi. 1. In the opinion of moſt eccleſiaſtical writers he was a relation of Chriſt[x]: and this opinion I adopted, when I publiſhed the firſt edition of this Introduction. The extraordinary requeſt made by the mother of James and John, that her two ſons ſhould ſit, the one on the right hand and the other on the left hand of Chriſt[y], implied a claim, which might be thought to be founded on relationſhip. But at preſent I much doubt whether any ſuch relationſhip ſubſiſted; for in Gal. i. 19. James the leſs, who was not brother of John, is diſtinguiſhed by the title of 'Brother of the Lord,' which implies that the other James, and conſequently John, were not related to Chriſt.

It appears from Matth. xxvii. 55, 56. that St. John's mother attended Chriſt, not only to Jeruſalem, but likewiſe to the place of his crucifixion. Of his father Zebedee, who was alive, when St. John was called to the Apoſtleſhip[z], no mention is made in the latter part of

[w] On the ſubject of St. John's Goſpel, I would recommend Lampe's Prolegomena prefixed to his Expoſition of this Goſpel, Oporini Clavis Evangelii Johannis, and Lardner's Supplement to the Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory, Vol. I. ch. 9.

[x] See Lampe, Prol. Lib. I. cap. 1. ſect. 4.

[y] Matth. xx. 20, 21.

[z] See Matth. iv. 21, 22.

of Christ's life: and as Salome accompanied Christ on his travels, it is probable that he died soon after his sons were chosen Apostles. From Luke xxiv. 1. 10. compared with Mark xvi. 1, 2. one might conclude that Salome was one of the persons, who first saw Christ after his resurrection: but St. John, in the twentieth chapter of his Gospel, though he particularly relates the circumstances of the resurrection, makes no mention of his mother: nor does St. Matthew, though he had named her among the persons who were present at the crucifixion [a], make any mention of her among the persons, who on the day of the resurrection went to visit the sepulchre [b].

It is not improbable, though it cannot be affirmed with certainty, that St. John the Evangelist, before he became a disciple of Christ, had been a disciple of John the Baptist. At least, the circumstantial account, which he has given, ch. i. 37—41. of the two disciples of John the Baptist, who followed Christ, might induce us to suppose, that he was one of the two. St. John was the favourite disciple of Christ, and was called the disciple whom Jesus loved [c]. This particular affection and regard arose from the softness and tenderness of St. John's character, which had a great resemblance to that of Christ himself. Hence we find him present at several scenes to which most of the other disciples were not admitted. He was eye-witness, in company with only Peter and James, to the resurrection of Jairus's daughter to life, to Christ's transfiguration on the mount, and to his agony in the garden. St. John repaid this attention by the most sincere attachment to his master: for he was the only Apostle who followed Christ to the place of his crucifixion. No writer whatsoever therefore was better enabled to give a circumstantial and authentic history of Christ.

On-

[a] Matth. xxvii. 55, 56. [b] Matth. xxviii. 1.
[c] John xiii. 23—26.

On the death of Chriſt, St. John took his mother Mary, whom Chriſt had recommended to his care, to his own home[d]. His long intercourſe therefore with the mother of Chriſt muſt have afforded him an opportunity of acquiring the beſt information, relative to the birth, education, and early hiſtory of Chriſt: and St. John's attachment to his maſter could not permit him to remain indifferent even to the minuteſt anecdote, which reſpected ſo remarkable a character. Yet he has related no circumſtance whatſoever of Chriſt's life, prior to his thirtieth year: though he certainly had it in his power to make very numerous additions to the few accounts, which had been given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, of Chriſt's early hiſtory. From St. John's ſilence therefore we muſt conclude, that it was not his intention to write a complete hiſtory of all that had been ſaid and done by Chriſt, but that he wrote his Goſpel to anſwer a particular purpoſe, which required no more than what he has actually communicated. What this purpoſe was, will be examined in the next and following ſections.

SECT. II.

Various opinions reſpecting the object, which St. John had in view, when he wrote his Goſpel.

CLEMENT of Alexandria, and Euſebius[e], ſuppoſed that St. John wrote his Goſpel as a ſupplement to the three firſt: but they are not agreed as to the matter, which St. John intended to ſupply. According

[d] John xix. 26, 27.

[e] See Lardner's Supplement, Vol. I. p. 385—389. where the words of Clement and Euſebius are quoted, and alſo a paſſage from Jerom.

cording to Clement, St. John, obſerving that in the other Goſpels thoſe things were related which concern the humanity of Chriſt, wrote a ſpiritual Goſpel, in order to explain at full length the divinity of Chriſt. Now this made a part of St. John's deſign, but not the whole of it: for his object was not to prove the divinity of Chriſt in general, but to prove it in oppoſition to the tenets of a particular ſect. Euſebius on the contrary relates, that St. John's intention was to ſupply what his predeceſſors had omitted concerning the firſt part of Chriſt's miniſtry, their accounts having been chiefly confined to the laſt year. But this is not probable: for St. John in his account even of the latter part of Chriſt's miniſtry, eſpecially of the celebration of the Lord's ſupper, has related facts and ſpeeches of the utmoſt importance, which are not recorded by the three firſt Evangeliſts. In ſhort, I cannot be perſuaded that the materials contained in St. John's Goſpel, in addition to thoſe contained in the Goſpels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, whether they reſpect the former or the latter part of Chriſt's miniſtry, were intended by St. John as a mere hiſtorical ſupplement. That it was not his deſign to record even all the miracles, which Chriſt had performed, is evident from what he himſelf ſays, ch. xx. 30. xxi. 25. and therefore, though his Goſpel contains a conſiderable quantity of very important matter, of which no mention is made in the three firſt Goſpels, yet this matter was introduced with a different view, from that of merely ſupplying the defects of his predeceſſors. If this had been his ſole, or even his principal object, he would not have paſſed over in ſilence the whole hiſtory of Chriſt's early life, of which, as I obſerved in the preceding ſection, he had the beſt opportunity of procuring information: nor would he have neglected to confirm by his own teſtimony the account of Chriſt's transfiguration on the mount, his agony in the garden, and other important events, at which St. John was preſent, but St. Matthew was not. However it is far from my intentions to aſſert,

that St. John intended no part of his Goſpel as a ſupplement to the preceding Goſpels: I mean only that this was not his ſole or his principal object.

A very different opinion from that of Clement and Euſebius has been advanced by Lampe[f] and defended by Lardner[g]. According to this opinion, St. John's principal object was to convince the unbelieving Jews, and, in caſe they refuſed their aſſent, to prove to them the juſtice of the divine puniſhment which awaited them, on the ground that they had ample means of conviction. But it is very improbable that St. John's view was ſo confined: and therefore, as the Apoſtle himſelf has no where given the ſmalleſt intimation that this was his particular object, I can ſee no reaſon for ſuppoſing it. If his Goſpel had been directed againſt the Jews in particular, he would hardly have omitted Chriſt's prophecy of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and his lamentation over the impending fate of that devoted city[h]. It is true that St. John ſays, ch. xx. 31. 'Theſe are written, that ye might believe that Jeſus is the Chriſt the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name.' But the purport expreſſed in this paſſage was the general purport of all the Evangeliſts, not that of St. John alone: nor does it appear from any thing which St. John had ſaid, that in writing this ſentence he had in view the Jews in particular. Many other extracts are made by Lardner from St. John's Goſpel, which, I grant, are applicable to the Jews only: but extracts of the very ſame kind might be made from the three other Goſpels, and therefore if they prove any thing, they will prove too much. Beſides, if many other paſſages were contained in St. John's Goſpel, which were applicable to the Jews, and to the Jews only, we could not argue from them to the main object

[f] In the Prolegomena to his Commentary.

[g] Supplement, Vol. I. p. 393—419.

[h] Luke xix. 41—44.

object of the Apoſtle in writing his Goſpel. The paſſage quoted by Lardner from John xii. 37—43. appears eſpecially to favour his opinion. But if in this particular paſſage St. John's attention was directed againſt the Jews, we muſt not therefore conclude the ſame of the whole Goſpel. However, I much doubt whether St. John, even in this inſtance, intended to write againſt the Jews, in the ſenſe which Lardner means: for it ſeems to be nothing more than an anſwer to an objection founded on the Jewiſh rejection of Chriſt's miracles. The Apoſtle had probably heard the following argument brought againſt the truth of the evangelical hiſtory: 'If ſo many miracles had been performed, as is pretended, and that too in ſo public a manner, it is inconceivable how the Jews could refuſe to believe, after they had ſeen thoſe miracles with their own eyes. If it were true that a perſon really dead was reſtored to life in the preſence of many witneſſes, and in a village, which was only a mile and an half from Jeruſalem, it muſt have been known to the whole city; and the neceſſary conſequence would have been, that the Jews would have acknowledged the perſon, who could perform ſuch miracles, to be the Meſſiah, whom they expected. But ſince the contrary is true, the wonders related by Chriſt's diſciples are entitled to no credit.' An objection of this kind St. John probably intended to anſwer, when he wrote the paſſage in queſtion. He admits that the incredulity of the Jews might afford juſt matter of ſurprize: but he denies that any inference can be deduced from it, prejudicial to the credibility of the Goſpel hiſtory. For the prophets had foretold that their eyes would be blinded, and their hearts hardened: and therefore as they were incapable of conviction, their rejection of Jeſus could afford no proof that he was not the Meſſiah. St. John however adds that many were really convinced in their hearts, and that only the fear of expulſion from the ſynagogue deterred them from an open confeſſion.

SECT. III.

St. John wrote his Goſpel to confute the error of Cerinthus.

IRENÆUS, the earlieſt writer, who has made any mention of St. John's deſign in writing his Goſpel, has given the following account in his third book againſt Hereſies, ch. xi. 'Hanc fidem annuntians Joannes Domini diſcipulus, volens per Evangelii annuntiationem auferre eum, qui a Cerintho inſeminatus erat hominibus, errorem, et multo prius ab his qui dicuntur, Nicolaitæ, qui ſunt vulſio ejus, quæ falſo cognominatur ſcientia, et confunderet eos, et ſuaderet, quoniam unus Deus, qui omnia fecit per verbum ſuum; et non, quemadmodum illi dicunt, alterum quidem fabricatorem, alium autem Patrem Domini.' Jerom likewiſe in his treatiſe of illuſtrious men, aſſerts, that St. John wrote againſt Cerinthus. Now, ſetting aſide the aſſertion of Jerom, which I will conſider only as private opinion, I think the account given by Irenæus of ſufficient weight to prove that St. John wrote againſt Cerinthus, notwithſtanding the conjectures, which may be made to the contrary. For Irenæus is not only the moſt ancient writer on this ſubject, but was a diſciple of Polycarp, who was perſonally acquainted with St. John. Conſequently Irenæus had the very beſt means of information on this ſubject.

Lardner[1] has quoted another paſſage from the works of Irenæus, which appears to be at variance with the paſſage quoted in the preceding paragraph. Namely, in the ſixteenth chapter of the third book againſt hereſies Irenæus ſays, 'Quemadmodum Joannes Domini diſcipulus confirmat dicens, "Hæc autem ſcripta ſunt ut credatis quoniam Jeſus eſt filius Dei, et ut credentes

[1] Supplement, Vol. I. p. 383.

credentes vitam æternam habeatis in nomine ejus.' *providens* has blaſphemas regulas, quæ dividunt Dominum, quantum ex ipſis attinet, ex altera et altera ſubſtantia dicentes eum factum.' Now if Irenæus here meant to ſay, that St. John only *foreſaw* the errors, which were propagated by Cerinthus and the Gnoſtics, it muſt appear very extraordinary that he ſhould ſay in the paſſage quoted in the preceding paragraph, that St. John wrote againſt the errors, which had been propagated by Cerinthus. But the contradiction is only apparent: for *providens* ſignifies here, not 'foreſeeing' but 'guarding againſt.' The latter paſſage therefore, when properly explained, does not confute but confirm the former. Beſides, St. Paul in his firſt Epiſtle to Timothy ſpeaks of Gnoſtic errors; and therefore they muſt have been propagated long before St. John wrote his Goſpel.

But even if Irenæus had not aſſerted that St. John wrote his Goſpel againſt the Gnoſtics, and particularly againſt Cerinthus, the contents of the Goſpel itſelf would lead to this concluſion. The ſpeeches of Chriſt, which St. John has recorded, are ſelected with a totally different view, from that of the three firſt Evangeliſts, who have given ſuch as are of a moral nature, whereas thoſe which are given by St. John, are chiefly dogmatical, and relate to Chriſt's divinity, the doctrine of the Holy Ghoſt, the ſupernatural aſſiſtance to be communicated to the Apoſtles, and other ſubjects of a like import. In the very choice of his expreſſions, ſuch as Light, Life, &c. he had in view the philoſophy of the Gnoſtics, who uſed, or rather abuſed theſe terms. That the fourteen firſt verſes of St. John's Goſpel are merely hiſtorical, and contain only a ſhort account of Chriſt's hiſtory before his appearance on earth, is a ſuppoſition devoid of all probability. On the contrary, it is evident that they are purely doctrinal, and that they were introduced with a polemical view, in order to confute errors, which prevailed at that time reſpecting

ing the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt. Unleſs St. John had had an adverſary to combat, who made particular uſe of the words 'light,' and 'life,' he would not have thought it neceſſary, after having deſcribed the Creator of all things, to add, that in him was life, and the life was the light of men, or to aſſert that John the Baptiſt was not that light. The very meaning of the word 'light' would be extremely dubious, unleſs it were determined by its particular application in the oriental Gnoſis. For without the ſuppoſition, that St. John had to combat with an adverſary who uſed this word in a particular ſenſe, it might be applied to any divine inſtructor, who by his doctrines enlightened mankind. Further, the poſitions contained in the fourteen firſt verſes are antitheſes to poſitions maintained by the Gnoſtics, who uſed the words λογος, ζωη, φως, μονογενης, πληρωμα, &c. as technical terms of their philoſophy. Laſtly, the ſpeeches of Chriſt, which St. John has ſelected, are ſuch as confirm the poſitions laid down in the firſt chapter of his Goſpel: and therefore we muſt conclude that his principal object throughout the whole of his Goſpel, was to confute the errors of the Gnoſtics.

If we except the writings of St. John, the word λογος is no where uſed either in the Old or New Teſtament, to denote a perſon. For in Pſalm xxxiii. 6. and other places of the Old Teſtament, where λογος is uſed in the Septuagint, the figurative ſenſe, in which ſome commentators have taken it, is much leſs ſuitable to the context, than its literal ſenſe. St. John therefore did not derive this particular uſe of the term λογος from the Bible. Nor did he derive it from the writings of the Rabbins: for though they frequently uſed the expreſſion מימרא דיי, that is, 'the Word of God,' eſpecially in their Targums or paraphraſes, they did not mean to expreſs a ſeparate and diſtinct Being from Jehova himſelf, or, as we ſhould ſay, the ſecond Perſon

of

of the Trinity[k]. Beſides, if the Chaldee word מימרא were equivalent to λογος, as applied by St. John, we might conclude that Chriſt himſelf, who ſpake Chaldee, would alſo have uſed this expreſſion: but though St. John has particularly ſelected thoſe ſpeeches of Chriſt, which tend to confirm the poſitions laid down in the firſt chapter, and in thoſe ſpeeches Chriſt frequently calls himſelf 'the Light,' 'the Life,' 'the Only-begotten,' &c. he has not applied to himſelf in a ſingle inſtance the title of 'the Word.'

Nor can we ſuppoſe that St. John invented this term, or rather this particular uſe of it, in order to expreſs the relation of the ſecond to the firſt Perſon of the Trinity. The term λογος, when applied to a divine perſon, is capable of ſo many different explanations, that no writer could think of uſing it, without ſome explanation, unleſs its meaning was already fixed by actual uſage. But St. John begins his Goſpel with ſpeaking of the Logos, and adds no explanation of the term: conſequently he wrote for readers, who were already acquainted with its meaning. Now we know that the Gnoſtics in general, and Cerinthus in particular, applied the term λογος to denote a divine perſon. Since therefore St. John has adopted ſeveral other terms, which were uſed by the Gnoſtics, we muſt conclude that he derived alſo the term λογος from the ſame ſource. If it be further aſked, whence did the Gnoſtics derive this uſe of the expreſſion 'Word,' I anſwer that they derived it moſt probably from the Oriental or Zoroaſtrian philoſophy, from which was borrowed a conſiderable part of the Manichæan doctrines. In the Zend Aveſta, we meet with a Being called 'The Word,' who

[k] The word מימרא is frequently uſed in the Chaldee paraphraſes as equivalent to the Hebrew השם, that is, 'the Name,' a term by which the Jews, who out of ſuperſtitious reverence for the word Jehova avoided the uttering of it as much as poſſible, denoted the Supreme Being. See for inſtance, Iſaiah xxvi. 4. in the Chaldee paraphraſe.

who was not only prior in exiſtence, but gave birth to Ormuzd the creator of good, and to Ahriman, the creator of evil[1]. It is true that the work, which we have at preſent under the title of Zend Aveſta is not the ancient and genuine Zend Aveſta; yet it certainly contains many ancient and genuine Zoroaſtrian doctrines. It is ſaid likewiſe that the Indian philoſophers have their λογος, which, according to their doctrines, is the ſame as the Μονογενης.

Perhaps the opinion that St. John derived the term Λογος from the Gnoſtics will be thought by many to affect in ſome degree his character as a divine Apoſtle. But ſuch perſons ſhould recollect, that there is nothing more in a mere name, than in a ſign of algebra. It is the notion aſcribed to the name, and not the name itſelf, to which we muſt attend. Otherwiſe, we muſt make the ſame objection to St. John's uſe of the word Θεος, which was likewiſe uſed by the heathen philoſophers, and ſignified perhaps originally nothing more than a planet, from Θεω curro. If the Gnoſtics gave the name of Λογος to the Being, who came next in order to the Supreme Being, St. John might without the leaſt impropriety retain this name in a work which was written againſt the Gnoſtics, and apply it to the ſecond perſon of the Trinity. The laws of controverſy require that we ſhould retain, as much as poſſible, the terms which are uſed by our adverſaries: for if each party has his own peculiar terminology, no poſition can have a clear and diſtinct counterpoſition. Conſequently the diſpute will be vague, and incapable of being brought to an iſſue.

St. John himſelf has really declared, though not in expreſs terms, that he wrote with a view of confuting errors maintained by the Gnoſtics. He ſays, ch. xx. 31. 'Theſe are written, that ye might believe that Jeſus

[1] See the Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions et Belles Lettres, Tom. XXXVII. p. 618.

Jeſus is the Chriſt, the Son of God.' To moſt readers this will appear to be nothing more than a declaration that he wrote with the ſame general view, as the other Evangeliſts, to ſhew that Jeſus was the promiſed Meſſiah, and to convince the world of the truth of Chriſtianity. But whoever compares this paſſage with his firſt Epiſtle, ch. v. 1-6. will find it to be a declaration, that he wrote in order to convince the Gnoſtics in particular. In his firſt Epiſtle, ch. v. 5, 6. he aſſerts that Jeſus was the Son of God, and that he was the Chriſt, not by water only, but by water and blood. This aſſertion, which, without a knowledge of the Gnoſtic opinions, muſt uppear unintelligible, was directed againſt the notions of Cerinthus, that Jeſus and Chriſt were two diſtinct Beings, that Jeſus was a mere man, and Chriſt a ſuperior Spirit or Æon, which was united with Jeſus at his baptiſm, but ſeparated from him before his death on the croſs. Now if we read ch. v. 5, 6. of St. John's firſt Epiſtle with this notion of Cerinthus in view, it becomes perfectly intelligible; for we then perceive that St. John meant to combat this notion, and to declare that Jeſus was the Chriſt, not only at his baptiſm, or by water, but likewiſe during his ſufferings and at his death, that is, by blood. After this explanation, the paſſage above-quoted from St. John's Goſpel, ch. xx. 31. preſents itſelf in a totally different light: and the declaration, that he wrote to ſhew that Jeſus was the Chriſt the Son of God, appears to be a declaration, that he wrote to confute the notion of Cerinthus, that Jeſus and Chriſt were two diſtinct Beings, united at the baptiſm of Jeſus, but ſeparated before his death. I admit however that, as the declaration of St. John is general, this paſſage alone, undecided by other arguments, would be of no great weight.

An objection to the opinion that St. John wrote againſt Cerinthus I found written in my father's copy of the firſt edition of this Introduction, and as it is a material

material one, I cannot paſs it over in ſilence. His objection was this: 'Cerinthus denied that Chriſt was born of a virgin, becauſe the fact, he ſaid, was impoſſible: and contended, that he was begotten in the natural way by Joſeph. This is related by Irenæus. If therefore St. John's object had been to confute Cerinthus, he would have thought it indiſpenſibly neceſſary to aſſert the miraculous conception. But this ſubject, as well as the birth of Jeſus, he has paſſed over in total ſilence.' To this objection I can make no other anſwer than the following: that the Goſpels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, which were written before that of St. John, already contained an account of the miraculous conception; and therefore St. John might think it unneceſſary, even in a work directed againſt Cerinthus, to ſay any thing further on the ſubject.

From what has been ſaid in this ſection we may infer, that if any genuine works of the ancient Gnoſtics could be now diſcovered[m], they would furniſh an excellent commentary on St. John's Goſpel, eſpecially on the fourteen firſt verſes.

[m] See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. IV. p. 211.

SECT. IV.

St John wrote alſo to confute the errors of the Sabians, or the ſect which acknowledged John the Baptiſt for its founder.

THE preceding ſection is the reſult of the inquiries, which had been inſtituted before the year 1777, when the third edition of this Introduction was publiſhed: but ſince that time a totally new light has been thrown on St. John's Goſpel. That the Apoſtle had to combat with certain perſons who aſcribed to John the Baptiſt a greater authority, than to Jeſus, appears from his declaration, ch. i. 8. that John the Baptiſt was not the Light itſelf, and that he only bore witneſs to the Light. For, unleſs this had been aſſerted of John the Baptiſt, it would have been unneceſſary to aſſert the contrary. However as we knew little or nothing of the ſect, which acknowledged John the Baptiſt for their chief, the thought did not occur that St. John the Evangeliſt had any ſuch ſect in view, when he wrote his Goſpel. But in the year 1780 we became acquainted not only with the religion, but with the religious writings of this ſect, for which we are indebted to profeſſor Norberg. The members of this ſect are called عذبي مصبا, that is, Diſciples of John, and ſometimes مذبي, Diſciples, alone: they have likewiſe the name of صبي, or Sabians, which ſignifies Baptiſts[a]. The firſt account, which profeſſor Norberg communicated, was given in a Swediſh Journal, of which I publiſhed a tranſlation in the Orientaliſche Bibliothek, Vol. xv. No. 245. and 248, and made an application of it, though at that time with great caution, to St. John's Goſpel. But a more complete account was ſoon afterwards communicated by profeſſor Norberg in a Latin Diſſertation, entitled, De religione et

[a] They have been ſometimes called Ἡμεροβαπτισται.

et lingua Sabæorum, which, with a ſpecimen of the religious writings of this ſect, was printed in the Commentationes ſocietatis regiæ ſcientiarum Goettingenſis ad annum 1780, and of which I gave a review in the Orient. Bib. Vol. XVII. N° 261. As ſoon as this diſſertation was publiſhed, the obſcurity, in which St. John's Goſpel had been involved, was at once diſſipated: and I made therefore no ſcruple to aſſert in the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVIII. p. 58. that St. John's Goſpel was directed againſt the ſect, which took its name from John the Baptiſt; for the members of this ſect not only made uſe of the word 'Light,' &c. but contended that John the Baptiſt was the Light, a doctrine combated by our Evangeliſt[o]. Nor am I ſingular at preſent in this opinion: for it has been adopted by Dr. Walch in his treatiſe on the Sabians printed in the Comment. ſoc. reg. ſcient. Goettingenſis ad an. 1781, and defended by Dr. Storr, in his treatiſe on the Evangelical Hiſtory and Epiſtles of St. John, publiſhed in 1786.

At the time, when St. John the Evangeliſt wrote his Goſpel at Epheſus, it is not improbable that the Sabians or diſciples of John the Baptiſt, had ſpread themſelves in that city and its neighbourhood[p]. For we learn from the Acts of the Apoſtles, ch. xviii. 24, 25. that when Apollos came to Epheſus, he knew only the baptiſm of John, till he was inſtructed in Chriſtianity by Aquila and Priſcilla: and ch. xix. 1—7. We find an account of twelve perſons likewiſe at Epheſus, who had been baptized in the name of John the Baptiſt, but were afterwards converted to Chriſtianity, and baptized by St. Paul in the name of Jeſus Chriſt.

If

[o] In the Epiſtles of St. John, the doctrines of this ſect are combated ſtill more evidently.

[p] Though it is not probable that the Sabians of the firſt century agreed in all reſpects with the Sabians of the preſent age, ſince every religious ſociety muſt alter in ſome meaſure its opinions in a courſe of ſeventeen hundred years, yet they probably agreed in the principal and diſtinguiſhing doctrines.

If it be aſked, whether the Sabians, or the ſect which acknowledged John for their founder, agreed in their opinions with the Gnoſtics, I anſwer that they certainly did in many, though I cannot affirm that they did in all. The Sabians of the preſent age have ſtill many terms in uſe, ſuch as Light, Fire, &c. which they apply in the ſame manner as the Gnoſtics did; but it is not to be expected, after a lapſe of ſeventeen hundred years, that the modern Sabians ſhould retain all the terms, which were uſed in the firſt century, ſince many of them were myſterious, particularly the term 'Word.'

SECT. V.

Of the tenets maintained by the Gnoſtics and the Sabians, and the manner in which they are confuted by St. John.

THE Gnoſtics, in order to account for the origin of evil in the world, which they ſuppoſed could not proceed from an all-wiſe and benevolent Being, adopted the notion that the world was created, not by the ſupreme Deity, but by a Being of inferior rank, which they called Demiurgus. In reſpect to the character of this Being they were not unanimous, for ſome conſidered him as an evil ſpirit, which was at perpetual enmity with the Supreme Being, while others aſcribe to him, not a want of benevolence, but only a want of knowledge, which prevented him from ſeeing the evil conſequences of the arrangement, which he adopted in the formation of the world. But they all agreed in repreſenting the Demiurgus, as the God of the Jews. Between this Demiurgus and the ſupreme, inviſible, incomprehenſible Being, they placed an order of Æons, to which they aſſigned the names of Only-begotten, Word, Light, Life, &c.: but they were not unanimous in

in regard to the rank, which was to be aſſigned to each. Theſe Æons dwelt with God in the higheſt and the pureſt heaven, which the Gnoſtics called Πληρωμα, a term which I will not attempt to tranſlate, as I know not what notion the Gnoſtics affixed to it. One of theſe Æons was Chriſt, who united himſelf with Jeſus at his baptiſm, but departed from him before his death. The moral tenets of the Gnoſtics were different according to the different ſects: ſome were of a gloomy and melancholy caſt, while others are repreſented, but probably without reaſon, as favouring licentiouſneſs. Moſt of the Gnoſtics were inimical to the law of Moſes, becauſe they believed that it was given not by the Supreme Being, but by the Demiurgus, and that Chriſt was ſent into the world to redeem us from the God of the Jews. But Cerinthus is ſaid to have been favourable to ſome parts of the Moſaic law, though we do not exactly know what they were [q].

The plan which St. John adopted to confute the tenets of the Gnoſtics and the Sabians, was, firſt to deliver a ſet of aphoriſms, as counterpoſitions to theſe tenets, and then to relate ſuch ſpeeches and miracles of Chriſt, as confirmed the truth of what he had advanced. We muſt not ſuppoſe that the confutation of the Gnoſtic and Sabian errors is confined to the fourteen firſt verſes of St John's Goſpel: for in the firſt place it is evident that many of Chriſt's ſpeeches, which occur in the following part of the Goſpel, were ſelected by the Evangeliſt with the view of proving the poſitions laid

[q] Whoever wiſhes to have a thorough knowledge of the tenets of the Gnoſtics muſt conſult Moſheim's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Beauſobre's Hiſtoire de Manichée et du Manichéiſme, and eſpecially Walch's Hiſtory of Heretics, in which laſt work the Gnoſtic tenets are not only fully deſcribed, but ſupported by the neceſſary authorities. A poſition maintained by theſe three writers, that the Gnoſtic philoſophy did not derive its origin from Chriſtianity, but that it exiſted in the Eaſt long before the birth of Chriſt, I have endeavoured to confirm in the ſecond volume of the Syntagma commentationum, by ſhewing that there are alluſions to it in the Septuagint.

laid down in theſe fourteen verſes: and ſecondly, the poſitions themſelves are not proofs, but merely declarations made by the Evangeliſt. It is true, that for us Chriſtians, who acknowledge the divine authority of St. John, his bare word is ſufficient: but as the Apoſtle had to combat with adverſaries, who made no ſuch acknowledgement, the only method of convincing them was to ſupport his aſſertion by the authority of Chriſt himſelf.

The term Λογος, as I have already obſerved, was taken by St. John from the ſyſtem of the Gnoſtics. He has uſed it to denote the divine nature, which was united to the man Jeſus, and, according to his own expreſſion, became Fleſh. Some of the Gnoſtics placed the 'Word' above all the other Æons, and next to the Supreme Being: but Cerinthus placed the 'Only begotten' firſt, and then the 'Word'[r]. Now St. John lays down the following poſitions.

1. The Word, and the Only-begotten, are not different but the ſame perſon. Ch. i. 14. 'We beheld his glory, as of the only begotten of the Father.' This is a ſtrong poſition againſt the Gnoſtics, who uſually aſcribed all the divine qualities to the Only-begotten.

The proofs of this poſition are, the teſtimony of John the Baptiſt, ch. i. 18. 34. iii. 35, 36. the converſation of Chriſt with Nicodemus, ch. iii. 16-18. in which Chriſt calls himſelf the only-begotten ſon, the ſpeech delivered by Chriſt to the Jews, ch. v. 17-47. and other paſſages, in which he calls God his Father.

2. The Word was never made, but exiſted from the very beginning, ch. i. 1.

The Gnoſtics granted that the Word exiſted before the creation, but they did not admit that the Word exiſted from all eternity. The Supreme Being, according

[r] Initium quidem eſſe monogenem: Logon autem verum filium Unigeniti. Iren. adv. Hæreſ. Lib. III. cap. 11.

cording to their tenets, and according to Cerinthus the Only-begotten Son likewiſe, as alſo the matter from which the world was formed, were prior in exiſtence to the Word. This notion is contradicted by St. John, who aſſerts that the Word exiſted from all eternity*.

As a proof of this poſition may be alleged perhaps what Chriſt ſays, ch. viii. 58. though I confeſs that, unleſs a particular emphaſis be laid on the expreſſion 'I am,' and it be taken in the ſenſe of the Hebrew אני הוא, though it proves the pre-exiſtence of Chriſt, it does not prove his eternal exiſtence. Ch. xvii. 5. appears to be of more weight. If Chriſt uſed the word בראשית where St. John has την αρχην, ch. viii. 25. this paſſage might likewiſe be produced, but both grammar and context are unfavourable.

3. The Word was in the beginning with God, ch. i. 1, 2.

The Gnoſtics muſt have maintained a contrary doctrine, or St. John in confuting their tenets would not have thought it neceſſary to advance this poſition, ſince God is omnipreſent, and therefore all things are preſent with him. The Gnoſtics aſſigned what they called the Pleroma† for the reſidence of the Supreme Being and the Æons. Perhaps Cerinthus, or ſome other Gnoſtic, had excluded the Word from the Pleroma, or at leaſt had aſſerted that the Word was not there from the very beginning.

The

* According to Anquetil, the doctrine of the Perſian or Zoroaſtrian philoſophy was, that the Word exiſted before Ormuzd, and Ahriman: and that Time by means of the Word produced Ormuzd and Ahriman. He contends likewiſe, that Time, or rather Eternity, denoted, in the Zoroaſtrian philoſophy, the Supreme Being. Of this fact I am not fully convinced: but whether he is right in this point or not, it is probable that in the phraſe εν αρχη ην ο λογος, the word Αρχη uſed by St. John has a reference to the unlimited Time of the Eaſtern philoſophy. For when he ſays, the Word was in the beginning, he means, the Word was from eternity.

† What they meant by this expreſſion it is difficult to determine.

The proofs of this position are, ch. i. 18. iii. 13. 31, 32. vi. 33. 35. 38. 41. 42. 62. vii. 28. 29. xviii. 5.

4. The Word was God, ch. i. 1.

The expression 'God' must here be taken in its highest sense, or this position will contain nothing contrary to the doctrine of the Gnostics. For they admitted that the Word was an Æon, and therefore a Deity in the lower sense of the word.

The proofs of this position are contained in the fifth, tenth, (ver. 30.), and fourteenth (ver. 7—11.) chapters.

5. The Word was the Creator of all things, ch. i. 3. 10.

This is one of St. John's principal positions against the Gnostics, who asserted, that the world, as it contains evil mixed with good, was made by a malevolent, and, according to Cerinthus, by an inferior Being, who knew not the Supreme Being[u]. The assertion, that the Word was the Creator of the world, is equivalent to the assertion, that he was God in the highest possible sense. In whatever form or manner we may think of God, the notion of Creator is inseparable from the notion of Supreme Being. We argue from the creation to the creator; and this very argument is our proof of the existence of God.

The only passage which can be produced as a proof of the position here laid down by St. John is ch. v. 17. where a conversation is related between Christ and the Jews, who accused him of having violated the sabbath, because he had performed miracles on that day. To this charge Christ might have answered that the performance of a miracle was no more a violation of the sabbath than the performance of religious ceremonies: but

[u] Virtus valde separata et distans ab ea principalitate, quæ est super universa, et ignorans eum qui est super omnia Deum. Irenæus adv. Hæres. Lib. I. c. 26.

but he anſwered in a different manner, and ſaid, 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.' The word 'hitherto' refers to the time when God ceaſed to work, namely on the firſt ſabbath, when God reſted after he had finiſhed the work of the creation. This reſt, which Moſes aſcribes to the Creator, admits of no other explanation, than that he ceaſed to operate immediately on the world, and that he left nature to take the courſe, which he had originally directed. Hence every miracle, which is a deviation from the courſe of nature, may be conſidered as a departure from the rule, which God preſcribed to himſelf, and as a kind of violation of the firſt ſabbath, becauſe a miracle implies God's interference. The meaning therefore of Chriſt's anſwer is the following. 'God himſelf ſometimes breaketh the great Sabbath, of which your ſabbath is only a type. After he had finiſhed the work of the creation, he reſted indeed on the ſeventh day: yet he ſtill worketh, and I work with him.' Whoever ſpeaks in this manner, and deſcribes himſelf as breaking, with God, the great ſabbath, which commenced when the creation was completed, repreſents himſelf as the Creator of heaven and earth, who reſted on the ſeventh day.

6. In the Word was Life, ch. i. 4.

The Gnoſtics who conſidered the different attributes or operations of the Deity not only as ſo many ſeparate energies, but as ſo many ſeparate perſons, conſidered Life as a diſtinct Æon from the Word. Without this Æon the world, they ſaid, would be in a ſtate of torpor: and hence they called it not only Life, but the Mother of the Living[w]. From this Æon therefore might

[w] It is not improbable that this name was borrowed by the Gnoſtics from the following paſſage in the Septuagint, Gen. iii. 20. Και εκαλεσεν Αδαμ το ονομα της γυναικος αυτου, Ζωη, ὁτι μητηρ παντων των ζωντων. Here Ζωη is nothing more than a tranſlation of the Hebrew name for Eve: but the Gnoſtics in reading this paſſage, thought on their Æon Ζωη, and hence perhaps gave it likewiſe the title of μητηρ παντων των ζωντων. The oriental name of this Æon was Barbelo, or Barbero,

might be expected the reſurrection of the dead, and eternal life. In the religious books of the Sabians we meet with ḥayyā, that is, the Diſciple of Light, who is repreſented as a perſon of the greateſt eminence. In oppoſition to theſe doctrines St. John aſſerts that the Word, and not a Being diſtinct from the Word, was the giver of life.

The proofs of this poſition are in ch. iii. 15—21, the whole of the ſixth, and the greateſt part of the eighth chapter, as alſo ch. xiv. 6. 9. 19. But no part of St. John's Goſpel is a more complete proof of this poſition, than his full and circumſtantial account of the reſurrection of Lazarus, which the other Evangeliſts had omitted. Particular attention muſt be paid to ch. xi. 23. 24. which is a very deciſive paſſage.

7. The Word was the Light of men, which lighteth every man, that cometh into the world, ch. i. 4. 9.

In the Gnoſtic ſyſtem Light, as well as Life, was a ſeparate Being, which gave intelligence to the mind, as Life gave vigour and motion to the body*. This is denied by St. John, who aſſerts that the Word was the Light, that is, the giver of light. By the expreſſion, 'light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world,' he means the light of nature, or reaſon: for revelation is not univerſal, and of courſe does not light *every* man that cometh into the world.

The proofs of this poſition are the paſſages in the eighth and ninth chapters, where Chriſt calls himſelf the Light. It is true that theſe paſſages alone, and without reference to the Gnoſtic ſyſtem, do not immediately prove that Chriſt was the giver of reaſon. But,

Barbero, which Petavius derives from בר בעל (Son of the Lord). But this etymology conveys neither the notion of Life itſelf, nor of the Author of Life: and moreover makes this Æon maſculine, whereas it is repreſented as feminine. Perhaps the name was originally Bartelo, and derived בת אלה (Daughter of God).

* The Sabian doctrine of Light will be examined in the two next articles.

But, ſince the Gnoſtics believed, that they received their rational faculties from a particular Æon, which they called, Light, the proof that the Word was the Light, was ſufficient to ſhew, that what they aſcribed to this imaginary Æon, ſhould be aſcribed to the Word.

8. John the Baptiſt was not that Light, ch. i. 8.

The Sabians, or Diſciples of John the Baptiſt, call the Baptiſm of John, at this very day, the Baptiſm of Light, and aſſert that John was inveſted with light and raiſed to the higheſt pitch of glory. It is difficult however fully to comprehend their meaning. In the firſt place they deſcribe God as Light, and make uſe of expreſſions, which, if taken figuratively, are true, and are very ſimilar to the expreſſions uſed by our Evangeliſt in his firſt Epiſtle. But they likewiſe ſpeak of a Being called Light, as diſtinct from the Supreme Being, which united itſelf with John the Baptiſt, at the time when he baptized a celeſtial Being, which appeared to him in the form of a little child. I will not attempt to develope the obſcure and confuſed ſyſtem of the Sabians; but ſince ſeveral parts of it may be applied as an explanation of the fourteen firſt verſes of St. John's Goſpel, I will here quote from their religious books as much as is neceſſary for our preſent purpoſe.

'In the name of the great Life, the firſt and the laſt of the world, the glorious Light, more glorious than all works. I, Apoſtle of the Light[y], (ḥ;ʿʿʿ ʿʿʿʿʿ) am come, and glorified thee, thou King of Light[z], and enlighten the hearts of darkneſs with my word.—I am the Apoſtle of the Light, whom the Lord ſent into the world, the true Apoſtle, in whom there is no deceit.

[y] It will appear from what follows, that by the expreſſion 'Apoſtle of the Light' is meant John the Baptiſt.

[z] In oppoſition to this, Chriſt ſays, Εγω σε εδοξασα επι της γης, John xvii. 14.

deceit. Whoever receiveth the name of Light[a], will be filled with Light.—Praiſed be thou, O Lord, with ſincere heart, thou Lord of all the world, thou exalted King of Light, God of truth, pure Splendor, Forgiver, and merciful God.—His Light ſhineth over all the inhabitants of the world, who ſtand before him, and worſhip, and acknowledge him; who ſhine through his brightneſs, and through the great Light, which dwelleth over them, and ſtand in the clouds of the Light, and praiſe the Sovereign Lord[b].—He is the exalted King of Light, from whom five great rays proceed; the firſt is the Light[c], the ſecond is the ſweet Breath, the third is the ſweet Voice, the fourth is the Word of the mouth[d], the fifth is Beauty. Theſe opened their mouths, praiſed him and ſaid, Thy Glory is from the Word, from the Word of Athor; he has ſet apart the Apoſtles, who ſtand before thee, and praiſe thee, and ſay, He is a Key of Light in his kingdom, no one is higher than he, no one is equal to him, there is no one, who can bear to behold his crown, which falleth not from the head of the King, who is from the beginning, and whoſe kingdom laſteth to eternity.'

That which now follows, relates more particularly to John the Baptiſt.

'In the name of the great Light! Theſe are the laws of John the Baptiſt. When he baptized in the Jordan of living water with the baptiſm of Life, and pronounced

[a] That is, whoſoever receives the Light, and is baptized in the name of the Light.

[b] A great part of what has been quoted thus far, if we deduct ſome obſcurities, contains nothing more, than what the Apoſtle St. John himſelf might have delivered, and really has delivered in his Epiſtles.

[c] Here we find a Light, which is not God himſelf, but proceeds from him, and is a kind of Gnoſtic Æon, or emanation.

[d] The expreſſion uſed in the Syriac original is, ܡܠܬܐ ܕܦܘܡܐ. Whether this expreſſion bears any analogy to the Λογος, I muſt leave the reader to determine.

nounced the name of Life, the Diſciple of Life (عدنا ابسما) came to him, and ſaid, Ariſe, John, baptize me with thy baptiſm, and pronounce over me the name, which thou art accuſtomed to pronounce. John ſaid to the Diſciple of Life, I am ſleepy, come to-morrow, and I will baptize thee. When the Diſciple of Life ſtood at the place of all light and glory[e], he ſaid, I beſeech thee, thou ſecond, and thou third Life, may ſleep come on the eyes of John twelve hours by day, and twelve hours by night, full four and twenty hours. He ſlept then day and night: but the Diſciple of Life laid his right hand on the eye of John, and removed the ſleep, and ſaid, Peace be with thee, John! John ſaid to the Diſciple of Life, Come in peace, my child! The Diſciple of Life ſaid, Stretch out thy arms, take me, and baptize me with thy baptiſm of life, and pronounce over me the name, which thou art accuſtomed to pronounce. John anſwered to the Diſciple of Life, That cannot be! But the ſcholars[f] of John earneſtly requeſted him: he baptized therefore the Diſciple of Life. As ſoon as the Jordan perceived the Diſciple of Life, the river overflowed, and covered John himſelf, ſo that he could not ſtand. The luſtre of the Diſciple of Life ſhone over the Jordan, the Jordan returned within its banks, and John ſtood on dry ground.—John ſaid to the Diſciple of Life, Thou art he, in whoſe name I have baptized with the baptiſm of life: lay thy hand on me. The diſciple of Life anſwered, If I lay my hand on thee, thou canſt not remain in thy body. John ſaid, I have ſeen thee: I will not remain

[e] Is this a Gnoſtic πληρωμα?

[f] I purpoſely uſe here the word 'ſcholar' inſtead of 'diſciple,' in order to preſerve the diſtinction, which is made in the religious documents of the Sabians. Where I have uſed the word 'diſciple,' the Syriac word ابسما is uſed in the original: but in the preſent place ابسما is uſed, and therefore I thought it neceſſary to adopt another term in tranſlating this nonſenſe, which is almoſt ſufficient to make one's head giddy.

remain here: exclude me not from the place, whence thou cameſt, and whither thou goeſt. Then threw the Angel of Light the covering of the body (ܟܣܝܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ) of John into the Jordan[g], wrapt him in a covering of glory, and put on him the beautiful turban of light. Upon this, the Diſciple of Life went away from John. When Fetachil ſaw the Diſciple of Life, he aroſe from his throne, and praiſed him. But John ſaid to Fetachil, The return (ܐܬܝܬܐ) of Life is to thee and to thy father Utro (Wealth)[h], and it has given thee commands and ſent thee hither. The Diſciple came then to the outer court of Abatur the ſublime: a thouſand times a thouſand lift up their eyes to him[i], and ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtand before him. When Abatur ſaw the Diſciple of Life, he aroſe from his throne[k]. Four men of peace, the living Eye, the living Name, the living Glory, and the living Light, took John by the hand, led him to the place of Truth, and ſaid; Let us ſee a man, who comes from the earth, a juſt and upright one. Abatur, the ancient clothed ſome of them with glory, others with light. But John ſtood at the place of all glory and of all light, and ſaid, I beſeech thee, thou firſt Life, thou ſecond Life, and thou third Life, that to the place of Light, where I ſtand, may come all honeſt and upright men, who are written in the book of life, and are baptized with pure baptiſm, over whom the name of the great Life has been pronounced.'

9. John

[g] Here then John is repreſented as deprived of his natural body, and inveſted with a glorious one, in ſhort as becoming more than a human being.

[h] Was ἐκ τῦ πληρώματος αὐτῦ πάντα ἐλάβομεν, John i. 16. intended as an antitheſis to this or ſome other ſimilar dream of an imaginary being called *Wealth*?

[i] Behold him.

[k] Even Abatur, therefore, who was much ſuperior to the Demiurgus Fetachil, is repreſented as doing homage to the Diſciple of Life.

9. John the Baptiſt was a mere man. Ver. 6.

It appears from what has been ſaid in the preceding article, that the Sabians conſidered John the Baptiſt as a being of a higher order, who laid aſide the covering of humanity in the river Jordan, and was inveſted with a clothing of light.

10. John the Baptiſt was not the Light, but was ſent to bear witneſs of the Light. Ver. 8.

The Sabians, or diſciples of John the Baptiſt, are at preſent of different opinions with reſpect to the character of Jeſus; for ſome paſſages in their religious writings condemn him as an impoſtor, and as a perſon who was guilty of ingratitude toward John the Baptiſt. But this opinion was not maintained by the Sabians of the firſt century, at leaſt not by thoſe againſt whom St. John the Evangeliſt wrote his Goſpel: nor was it maintained by the members of this ſect, of whom we find an account in the Acts of the Apoſtles. According to Profeſſor Norberg, when the Sabians of the preſent age are aſked their opinion concerning Jeſus Chriſt, they anſwer as follows. 'We neither believe in Chriſt, nor diſbelieve in him: and thoſe, who believe in him, we neither condemn, nor approve. But this we believe, that whoever believeth in the Light of the Lord, and the baptiſm of John, his ſoul will after death be partaker of the Light: but if he believeth not, his ſoul will be partaker of puniſhment[l].' They likewiſe ſay: 'Our doctrines are more ancient than the Chriſtian: theſe were not known to John, and John is our maſter[m].'

The proof of the poſition laid down in this article the Evangeliſt has given, ch. i. 15, 16. 19—52. iii. 25—36. v. 33—36. In the laſt mentioned paſſage, ver. 35. the Evangeliſt mentions an expreſſion uſed by Chriſt concerning John the Baptiſt, Ἐκεινος ην ο λυχνος ο καιομενος και φαινων. Here it muſt be obſerved that the

[l] See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XV. p. 148.

[m] Ibid. p. 149.

the word λυχνος is by no means equivalent to φως: for the latter ſignifies Light itſelf, but the former correſponds to the Hebrew word נר, and denotes only *a* light, in the ſenſe in which we uſe the term wax-light. When therefore John the Baptiſt is called *a* light, or a luminary, it is evident that this luminary, which ſhone only for a time, and only to a ſingle nation, is repreſented as infinitely inferior to Chriſt, who calls himſelf 'The Light of the World.'

11. The Light was in the world. Ver. 10.

This is a counterpoſition againſt the Gnoſtic or Oriental doctrine, which made matter the region of darkneſs, and the cauſe of evil; and placed the region of Light without the limits of the viſible world. The Gnoſtics therefore maintained, that the Light was not in the world.

12. The world was made by him, and the world knew him not. Ver. 10.

This is directed againſt that tenet of the Gnoſtics, according to which the world was made, not by the Supreme, but by an inferior Being, which they called Fetachil, who, they ſay, riſes from his ſeat, when the Diſciple of Light approaches.

13. The fifth verſe contains a poſition ſimilar to the preceding; but I do not fully comprehend its tendency, becauſe I neither know what tenet it was intended to confute, nor underſtand exactly the force of the word κατελαβε. Did St. John mean to ſay, 'The Light ſhone in the dark world, and communicated to the human race inextinguiſhable ſparks of reaſon: and the darkneſs could not prevent or impede it?' Or did he mean to combat a tenet ſimilar to that of the Manichæans, according to which the particles of Light were abſorbed by dark and ſin-producing matter, and to ſay, 'The Light did not unite itſelf with darkneſs?'

14. He came to his own, and his own received him not. Ver. 11.

Here

Here the Jews are called the choſen people of the Light, in oppoſition to the Gnoſtics, who aſſerted that the God of the Jews was an inferior and malevolent Being. As proofs of this poſition, we cannot produce any paſſages, in which the Jews are ſaid in expreſs terms to have been the choſen people of the Light: but there are many paſſages which prove that the God of the Jews, who ſent Moſes, was the true God, and father of Jeſus Chriſt. See ch. iv. 22. v. 39. 46. 47. viii. 54.

15. This eminent perſon, hitherto called Word, Light, Life, did not merely accompany the man Jeſus during a certain period, but really and truly became man. Ver. 14.

Here St. John combats that tenet of the Gnoſtics, according to which the Æon Chriſt aſſociated itſelf with the man Jeſus at his baptiſm, but left him before his death. The Gnoſtics denied that the eternal Son of God took man's nature, and became fleſh, becauſe they conſidered Matter as the origin of Evil, and incompatible with Good.

All the paſſages of St. John's Goſpel, in which the man Jeſus, ſpeaking in the firſt perſon, aſſerts of himſelf what cannot be attributed to any human Being, for inſtance, that he was in Heaven, that he exiſted before Abraham, ch. viii. 58. are proofs of the poſition laid down in this article.

16. Chriſt was full of Grace and Truth, ch. i. 14.

In the Gnoſtic ſyſtem, Grace and Truth were two Æons: but St. John aſſerts that they were only two qualities belonging to Chriſt. Further, as Chriſt is here ſaid to be full of grace, and in ver. 17. the law of Moſes is oppoſed to the grace of Chriſt, it follows that the former is ſuperſeded by the latter. Hence this poſition is likewiſe a counterpoſition againſt Cerinthus in particular, who wiſhed to retain at leaſt ſome parts of the Moſaic law.

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The principal proofs are contained in ch. iv. 19—26. in ch. v. 8. (where Chriſt commanded a ſick perſon, whom he had reſtored to health, to take away with him his bed, though it was on a ſabbath day,) and in the ſixth chapter. In the diſcourſe delivered in this chapter, Chriſt ſays to the Jews, who were going up to Jeruſalem to celebrate the feaſt of the paſſover, that his fleſh and blood was the food which giveth life: and as ſome took offence at this ſaying, becauſe it ſeemed to imply the inefficacy of the Paſſover, he anſwered 'It is the ſpirit (that is, the ſpirit of the law) which quickeneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing: the words, that I ſpeak unto you, they are ſpirit, and they are life[m].' The ſtory of the adultereſs, ch. viii. 1—11. ſeems likewiſe to be a proof of this article. By the law of Moſes, a woman taken in adultery was to be put to death: but in this inſtance Chriſt interfered, and the ſentence was not executed.

17. Through faith, and not through birth or parentage, we become the ſons of God. Ver. 12, 13.

To what tenet of the Gnoſtics this doctrine was oppoſed I am unable to ſay, as our accounts of their ſyſtem are very imperfect. But, ſince we know that Cerinthus, who in many reſpects differed from other Gnoſtics, was attached to ſome parts of the Moſaic law, it is not improbable that he conſidered the Jews as having, in conſequence of their birth, a prior claim to the favour of God.—The proofs of the poſition laid down in this article are contained in that part of Chriſt's diſcourſe with Nicodemus, which relates to regeneration, and in the account of the converſion of the Samaritans.

Theſe are the poſitions which St. John has laid down in expreſs terms. But whoever is acquainted with the doctrine of the Gnoſtics will perceive, that there are other

[m] See the explanation, which I have given of this paſſage, in the firſt ſection of my Typical Theology, and the paſſage there quoted from Philo.

other parts of St. John's Goſpel, in which the Evangeliſt had the Gnoſtics in view; eſpecially the fourteenth, fifteenth, and ſixteenth chapters, which contain the promiſes of Chriſt reſpecting the aſſiſtance, which the Apoſtles were to receive from the Holy Ghoſt. The Gnoſtics accuſed the Apoſtles of having miſunderſtood the meaning of Chriſt, and of having forgotten many of his doctrines: moreover they aſſerted, that the words of Chriſt alone were authority, and that the doctrines delivered by the Apoſtles were no more exempt from the danger of error, than the theological opinions of other writers. The notion of the Gnoſtics could not be better confuted, than by a relation of thoſe ſpeeches of Chriſt, in which he promiſed them, that the Holy Ghoſt would remind them of what they had already heard, and reveal to them truths, which he himſelf could not communicate, on account of their preſent inability to comprehend them. Further, as the Gnoſtics admitted the perſonality of the Holy Ghoſt, and conſidered him as an Æon diſtinct from Chriſt, it is evident that St. John, who no where ſays that the word was the Holy Ghoſt, but on the contrary has recorded ſpeeches of Chriſt, in which he is repreſented as a diſtinct perſon, intended to ſupport the doctrine relative to the perſonality of the Holy Ghoſt.

Laſtly, the paſſages which occur in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and ſixteenth chapters relative to the union of the Chriſtian Church, and the command of love and charity, were directed againſt thoſe, who endeavoured to introduce diviſions in the church, and to promote the perſecution of the faithful.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

St. John had read the three firſt Goſpels before he wrote his own.

I HAVE already mentioned in the ſecond ſection of this chapter, that according to a paſſage in the Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Euſebius, St. John had read the three firſt Goſpels, and ſupplied what his predeceſſors had omitted. Euſebius however has not mentioned it as an indiſputable hiſtorical fact, but introduces it with the word φασι (they ſay), and conſequently has only given it as a report. The paſſage is as follows, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. III. cap. 24. Ηδη δε Ματθαιε και Λουκα [n] των κατ' αυτους ευαγγελιων την εκδοσιν πεποιημενων, Ιωαννην φασι, τον παντα χρονον αγραφω κεχρημενον κηρυγματι, τελος και επι την γραφην ελθειν, τοιασδε χαριν αιτιας. Των προαναγραφεντων τριων εις παντας ηδη και εις αυτον διαδεδομενων, αποδεξασθαι μεν φασιν, αληθειας αυτοις επιμαρτυρησαντα, μονην δε αρα λειπεσθαι τη γραφη την περι των εν πρωτοις και κατ' αρχην τε κηρυγματος απο τε Χριστε πεπραγμενων διηγησιν. But though Euſebius delivers this account only as a report, and that part of it which relates to the motive, by which St. John was induced to write his Goſpel, is not quite accurate, we muſt not therefore conclude that the whole was devoid of foundation. Clement of Alexandria, an author of great importance on the preſent queſtion, ſince he wrote only a hundred years after St. John, has likewiſe aſſerted that our Evangeliſt had ſeen the three firſt Goſpels: but here again, the motive which Clement aſſigns for the compoſition of St. John's Goſpel, is liable to objection. His words are [o], τον μεντοι

[n] Of St. Matthew's Goſpel Euſebius had ſpoken immediately before.

[o] This paſſage from the works of Clement is quoted by Euſebius, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. VI. cap. 14.

μενοι Ιωαννην ἐσχαλον συνιδονλα ὁι τα σωμαλικα εν τοις ευαγγελιοις δεδηλωλαι, ωρολραπενλα ὑπο των γνωριμων, ωνευμαλι θεοφορηθενλα ωνευμαλικον ωοιησαι ευαγγελιον. Now that St. John's object was to write an ευαγγελιὸν ωνευμαλικον, becauſe his predeceſſors had written only ευαγγελια σωμαλικα, I think not very probable, becauſe there are many parts of St. John's Goſpel, which likewiſe come under the latter deſcription; for inſtance, his accounts of the cure of diſeaſes, and of the reſtoration of a dead perſon. If Clement had ſaid that the three firſt Goſpels contained chiefly points of morality, but that of St. John articles of faith, his aſſertion would have been more credible.

It appears then that we have no indiſputable hiſtorical evidence in favour of the opinion, that the three firſt Goſpels were known to St. John. But on the other hand, as it is incredible that three Goſpels written before that of St. John ſhould have remained unknown to him, we may ſafely conclude that the fact is true, notwithſtanding the weakneſs of our hiſtorical evidence. Beſides there are internal marks in St. John's Goſpel, which imply that the author was not only acquainted with the contents of the three firſt Goſpels, but that he preſuppoſed the ſame of his readers. Dr. Semler indeed has endeavoured to ſhew, and likewiſe from internal marks, that St. John was not acquainted with the Goſpels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. For this purpoſe he has quoted ch. xx. 30. where St. John ſays, 'And many other ſigns truly did Jeſus in the preſence of his diſciples, which are not written *in this book.*' Hence Dr. Semler argues, that, as St. John ſpeaks only of his own Goſpel, and is totally ſilent with reſpect to any other, the other Goſpels were unknown to him. But the inference is without foundation; for a writer may be well acquainted with the works of his predeceſſors, and yet not mention them. In the Preface to my Dogmatical Theology, though it conſiſts of not leſs than ten pages, I have not mentioned the name of a ſingle writer on this ſubject, my principal object

object having been to explain to the reader the purport of my own book: yet I hope that no reader would conclude from this ſilence that I have never ſeen the ſyſtems of Quenſtedt and Baumgarten.

Whoever turns to the Table of Contents to the four Goſpels, which I have given above, in ch. ii. ſect. 7. and obſerves the many important accounts, which are given by the three firſt Evangeliſts, but are wholly omitted by St. John, will perceive that ſuch omiſſions are inexplicable on any other ſuppoſition, than that St. John was well aſſured, that his readers had already a knowledge of thoſe accounts from the three firſt Evangeliſts. As the ſubject is of ſome importance, I will mention a few examples[p]. In the above-mentioned Table, N°. 42. the reſtoration of Jairus's daughter, to which St. John was eye-witneſs, in company with St. Peter and St. James, and to the excluſion of all the other Apoſtles. The relation of this miracle might very properly have accompanied that of the reſurrection of Lazarus. No. 26. the election of the twelve Apoſtles; though St. John has afterwards devoted almoſt four chapters, from the fourteenth to the ſeventeenth incluſively, to the deſcription of the privileges of the Apoſtles, and the promiſes made to them. N°. 46. the queſtion propoſed to Jeſus by John the Baptiſt, whether he was the Meſſias, with the anſwer to John's queſtion: though the anſwer would have been very ſuitable to the purport of St. John's Goſpel. N°. 51. the beheading of John the Baptiſt; though our Evangeliſt was once his diſciple, and has introduced into his Goſpel many parts of John's hiſtory, which promoted the object, for which he wrote. N°. 63. the transfiguration of Jeſus, though St. John was eye-witneſs to it, and no other Apoſtle, except St. Peter and St. James.

[p] I do not quote St. John's omiſſion of the ſermon on the mount, as an inſtance, becauſe he might have omitted it, on account of its being unintelligible to readers, who were not acquainted with the Phariſaic doctrines.

James. Further, the very important diſcourſes delivered by Chriſt, N°. 98—107. Nor has he mentioned the inſtitution of the Lord's ſupper, in which every Chriſtian is particularly intereſted, though he had related, in ch. xiii. the leſs important ceremony of Chriſt's waſhing the feet of his diſciples. The aſcenſion likewiſe he has paſſed over in total ſilence, though he had mentioned, ch. vi. 62. xx. 17. two declarations made by Chriſt at different times, that he ſhould aſcend into heaven, and conſequently had prepared the reader to expect an account of the event's taking place.

Other examples may be produced, which are ſtill more deciſive, than the preceding; for they relate not only to material facts, which St. John has omitted, but to facts, which muſt neceſſarily be known before his Goſpel can be intelligible. Such facts St. John would certainly not have omitted, unleſs he had known that his readers were already acquainted with them: for he is more plain and perſpicuous in his narrative, than any other writer either of the Old or of the New Teſtament. Of this kind the following are examples.

Ch. i. 15. 'This is he of whom I ſpake, he that cometh after me is preferred before me, for he was before me,' preſuppoſes a reader, who had already learnt from the other Evangeliſts, that John the Baptiſt, the hiſtory of whoſe miniſtry is entirely omitted by our Evangeliſt, had made this declaration.

He has no where related that Chriſt was baptized by John, or that at Chriſt's baptiſm the Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon him in the ſhape of a dove. Yet, ch. i. 32—34. he introduces John the Baptiſt, as ſaying ſome time after Chriſt's baptiſm, 'I knew him not, but he that ſent me to baptize with water, the ſame ſaid unto me, Upon whom thou ſhalt ſee the Spirit deſcending and remaining on him, the ſame is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghoſt: and I ſaw and bare record that this is the Son of God.' Our Evangeliſt therefore muſt have known that his readers were already acquainted with the circumſtances of Chriſt's baptiſm, or

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he would not have alluded to them, without having firſt related them.

Ch. iii. 24. 'For John was not yet caſt into priſon,' evidently implies that the reader was already acquainted with this fact. Yet our Evangeliſt has not related the hiſtory of John's impriſonment, and therefore he muſt have known that the fact had been already related by his predeceſſors. The example is the more remarkable, as St. John wrote his Goſpel, not in Judæa, where the circumſtances of the Baptiſt's impriſonment were known by report, but in Aſia Minor, where they could not have been generally known, except from written accounts. In ch. iv. 1—4. the place, to which the hiſtory of John's impriſonment properly belongs, our Evangeliſt, though he is ſilent in regard to this ſubject, relates Chriſt's journey into Galilee, which according to the accounts of the other Evangeliſts muſt have taken place ſoon after John's impriſonment, and he is moreover very circumſtantial in relating that Chriſt travelled at that time through Samaria, a route not uſually taken by the Jews, but which Chriſt probably choſe, in order to avoid going through Peræa, becauſe Herod the tetrarch, who had commanded John to be impriſoned, was then in that country.

Ch. iv. 43, 44, 45. 'Now after two days he departed thence and went into Galilee, for Jeſus himſelf teſtified that a prophet hath no honour in his own country. Then, when he was come into Galilee, the Galileans received him, &c.' would be unintelligible, unleſs we knew from the other Evangeliſts, that Nazareth in Galilee was the place where Chriſt was educated, and was therefore called his country: that when he returned to this city as a prophet and worker of miracles, the inhabitants not only rejected him, but attempted to caſt him down from the brow of the hill, on which the city was built: that on this occaſion Chriſt obſerved, that a prophet hath no honour in his own country, that he therefore avoided all future connection with Nazareth, and confined himſelf to the

other cities of Galilee. Whoever has acquired a knowledge of theſe facts from the three firſt Evangeliſts will find that St. John's relation is perfectly intelligible, and will perceive that he has done nothing more than interweave a well known ſaying of Chriſt with the account of his journey through Samaria into Galilee. But without a knowledge of theſe facts, our Evangeliſt, though remarkable for perſpicuity, muſt appear to be enigmatical.

Ch. v. 35. 'He was a burning and a ſhining light, and ye were willing for a ſeaſon to rejoice in his light,' is a ſentence which being delivered in the paſt time, implies that John the Baptiſt, to whom the ſubject relates, was no longer alive. But our Evangeliſt has no where given an account of his death: conſequently he preſuppoſed that this fact was already known.

The whole of the fifth chapter of St. John's Goſpel is employed in deſcribing what Chriſt did in Jeruſalem: yet at the very beginning of the next chapter, the ſcene is ſuddenly and unexpectedly changed to Galilee and the ſea of Tiberias. 'After theſe things Jeſus went over the ſea of Galilee, which is the ſea of Tiberias.' Now ſuch a ſudden tranſition from Jeruſalem to the ſea of Tiberias is inexplicable on any other ſuppoſition, than that St. John knew, that his readers were already acquainted with Chriſt's return to Galilee, and conſequently that he had left Jeruſalem.

Ch. xii. 16. 'Theſe things (namely, that Chriſt rode into Jeruſalem on an aſs, &c.) underſtood not his diſciples at the firſt: but when Jeſus was glorified, then remembered they that theſe things were written of him, *and that they had done theſe things unto him.*' But what the Apoſtles had done St. John had not related: conſequently he preſuppoſed the knowledge of it from the other Evangeliſts; namely, that the Apoſtles, at the command of Chriſt, had brought to him an aſs, which they found tied by the road ſide.

Ch. xv. 20. 'Remember the word that I ſaid unto you, the ſervant is not greater than his lord, &c.' implies

plies that the reader had been already informed of what Chriſt had ſaid: but this is recorded only by the other Evangeliſts, and not by St. John.

The preceding examples are confined to the compaſs of only fifteen chapters: and if we examine St. John's account of the ſufferings and death of Chriſt, we ſhall find the inference deduced from theſe premiſes very ſtrongly confirmed. No part of Chriſt's hiſtory is more circumſtantially deſcribed by St. John, than the laſt week of his life, probably becauſe the Evangeliſt himſelf was preſent at every tranſaction of it. Yet on the other hand he has omitted many material circumſtances, which are recorded by the other Evangeliſts. In his account of Peter's denial of Chriſt he mentions ch. xviii. 15, 16. that Peter followed Chriſt into the houſe of the high prieſt, and ver. 26, 27. relates, that a kinſman of the ſervant, whoſe ear Peter had cut off, aſked him if he were not with Jeſus in the garden, to which Peter anſwered in the negative, and that then the cock crew. Here St. John cloſes his account of Peter's denial of Chriſt, and leaves it therefore unfiniſhed, though he certainly knew all the other circumſtances, and moſt probably better than Peter himſelf, who was during the whole time in a ſtate of anxiety. We muſt conclude then, that St. John thought it unneceſſary to relate the other circumſtances, as they had been already related by the other Evangeliſts.

Of all that Chriſt ſaid and did, when he ſtood before Caiaphas, who, according to St. John himſelf, was properly the high prieſt for that year, the Evangeliſt has not related a ſingle ſyllable. He mentions merely, ch. xviii. 24. that Chriſt was conducted to Caiaphas, and ver. 28. that he was thence conducted to Pilate, but ſays nothing either of accuſation, or ſentence. He has even omitted the account of the falſe witneſſes, though in ch. ii. 20, 21. he had prepared his readers to expect it. All theſe facts therefore he concluded were already known to his readers.

From the twentieth and twenty-firſt chapters I quote no examples, becauſe I have already given them in my Hiſtory of the Reſurrection. I will only obſerve that he has not related the command, which Chriſt gave to his diſciples after his reſurrection, to go into Galilee; but as in ch. xxi. 1. the ſcene is ſuddenly changed from Jeruſalem to the ſea of Tiberias, he muſt have ſuppoſed that his readers were already acquainted with this command. Laſtly, Chriſt's prophecy of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem is no where related by St. John; yet in ch. xxi. 22. it is implied.

SECT. VII.

Of St. John's mode of narration.

AFTER what has been ſaid in the foregoing ſection, it will not be difficult to aſſign the reaſon, why St. John has ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs than the other Evangeliſts. He has omitted the greateſt part of what his predeceſſors had already related, and for no other reaſon, than becauſe he thought it unneceſſary, except where he was influenced by particular motives, to repeat what was already on record. His ſilence therefore in reſpect to the numerous facts, which are found in the other Goſpels, cannot be uſed as an argument to weaken the credibility of thoſe facts: or we muſt deny that Chriſt was ever born, and that John the Baptiſt was beheaded. On the contrary St. John's ſilence may rather be conſidered as a proof, that the facts, which the other Evangeliſts have recorded, and he has left unnoticed, are really true: for if their accounts had been inaccurate, he would probably have corrected them.

However, there is an omiſſion of a certain kind in St. John's Goſpel, which deſerves particular attention, namely, the omiſſion of the demoniacs. In not a ſingle inſtance

inſtance has St. John related the caſting out of a devil, either where accounts of this kind have been given in the other Goſpels, or where they have not[q]. Yet at Epheſus, where St. John wrote his Goſpel, we find from Acts xix. 12—17. not only that evil ſpirits were expelled by St. Paul, but that Jewiſh exorciſts in that city attempted to do the ſame, though the event by no means anſwered their expectations. The queſtion therefore is: Did St. John omit all ſuch hiſtories by mere accident, or did he omit them by deſign? Perhaps he believed that perſons ſaid to be poſſeſſed with devils had in reality no concern with evil ſpirits, but were merely afflicted with ſome natural diſorder; and mentioned them therefore, neither under the name of demoniacs, leſt the term ſhould be literally underſtood, nor under any name expreſſive of a natural diſorder, becauſe he was unwilling, in a matter, which had no eſſential influence on the Chriſtian doctrine, to contradict a commonly received opinion. The only place, where I could wiſh that he had ſaid ſomething on this ſubject, is that, in which the other Evangeliſts have related the expulſion of a devil, who called himſelf Legion[r], becauſe it is almoſt the only inſtance on which the reality of diabolical poſſeſſion can be grounded[s].

Where St. John has related facts, which are likewiſe related by the other Evangeliſts, of which the examples may be ſeen in the above-mentioned Table to the four Goſpels, it is generally in one of the three following caſes.

1. Either the fact was neceſſary as an introduction to ſomething important, which he was going to relate, as for inſtance his account of the five thouſand men, ch.

[q] See Timmermann de Dæmoniacis.

[r] See No. 39. of the Table to the four Goſpels.

[s] See my Dogmatic Theology, ſect. 98, or rather the New Orient. Bibl. Vol. III. p. 177—180.

ch. vi. whom Christ fed with five barley loaves, a fact, which was absolutely necessary to be known, or the very important discourses of Christ, which were delivered after the performance of that miracle, could not have been fully understood. St. John therefore has related the fact, though it had been already recorded by the other Evangelists, and has moreover augmented, and apparently improved their narration.

2. Or at other times he was induced to repeat facts already contained in the other Gospels, because several circumstances, which he thought necessary to be known, had been omitted. The supper at Bethany, the unction[t] of Christ by Mary, and Christ's entry into Jerusalem, related by St. John in the twelfth chapter, had been already related by the other Evangelists: but then St. John has added the following very important circumstances.[u] First, Lazarus, on whose restoration to life the other Evangelists had been purposely silent, sits at table with Christ, and by bearing witness in person to the truth of his restoration, contributed in a great degree to the glory of Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem[v]. Secondly, Judas Iscariot was the first who censured the unction of Christ, and it was he who occasioned the other disciples to do the same[w]. Hence we see the reason, why Christ's answer affected him in particular, and what confirmed him in his resolution to betray his master. The other Evangelists make mention of the treachery of Judas, at the same time that they give an account of the supper in Bethany. But they have not shewn the connection, or explained, how the one was the immediate effect of the other: whereas, we clearly perceive from St. John's account the

[t] St. John after ἀχρὶς has used the epithet πιστικῆς, which had been used by St. Mark. This is an additional argument in favour of the opinion that St. John had read St. Mark's Gospel in particular, for this very unusual word occurs in no other part of the New Testament.

[u] See ver. 1, 2, 17, 18. [v] Ver. 4, 5.

the chain of thought and the ſprings of action in this unhappy man, who, though a traitor to Chriſt, is a ſtrong witneſs to the truth of Chriſtianity. In ch. xx. 1—18. which has been ſaid to be contradictory to the accounts given by the other Evangeliſts, St. John takes for granted, that what they had related in general terms of the women, who went to viſit the ſepulchre, was already known, and adds a ſpecial account of what was ſeen in particular by Mary Magdalene, who went alone very early to the ſepulchre. A full and diſtinct explanation of this matter would be too prolix for the preſent place: I refer therefore the reader to my Hiſtory of the Reſurrection.

I have obſerved ſeveral other examples, in which St. John has explained the accounts of the other Evangeliſts. Whoever reads what St. Matthew has related, ch. iv. 12. 'When Jeſus had heard that John was caſt into priſon, he departed into Galilee,' without any further knowledge of the ſituation of affairs at that time, will think it perhaps extraordinary, that the impriſonment of John the Baptiſt ſhould have induced Chriſt to return to Galilee, when the very perſon at whoſe command John had been impriſoned, was tetrarch of Galilee. But St. John, ch. i. 1—4. has explained this matter; for after having related that Chriſt could not tarry in Judæa on account of the Phariſees, he adds, that Chriſt was obliged to go through Samaria, (εδει δε αυτον διερχεσθαι δια της Σαμαρειας). It is true that he has not aſſigned the reaſon why Chriſt was obliged to go through Samaria: but this we learn from Joſephus, who relates that when John was caſt into priſon Herod was at Machærus in Peræa. St. John's account therefore, though not fully explanatory of the relation of the other Evangeliſts, is inſtructive at leaſt for thoſe who are acquainted with the hiſtory of thoſe times. St. Matthew, ch. xxviii. 46—49. and St. Mark, ch. xv. 34—36. relate that after Chriſt had exclaimed, Eli, Eli, lama ſabachthani, vinegar was brought him to drink. Now between Chriſt's

Chriſt's exclamation and the offering of vinegar to him, we ſee no immediate connection: but St. John has explained this matter by adding, ch. xix. 28. that Chriſt ſaid, 'I thirſt.'

3. St. John appears to have corrected, though in a very delicate manner, the accounts given by his predeceſſors. If the reading ηθελον εν λαβειν αυτον, ch. vi. 21. is the genuine reading, and the conjectural emendation, which I propoſed, Vol. II. ch. x. ſect. 4. of this Introduction, be not admiſſible, St. John has tacitly corrected the relation of St. Matthew and St. Mark. For, according both to St. Matthew and to St. Mark, Chriſt actually entered the ſhip, in which the diſciples were[x]: but St. John ſays only, that they intended to take Chriſt into the ſhip, but that the ſhip was ſuddenly at the place of its deſtination, ſo that they had not time to put their deſign in execution. Further, the account given in St. Matthew's Goſpel[y] (whether it proceeded from St. Matthew himſelf, or was a very early addition, I will not determine) of St. Peter's leaping into the ſea, to meet Chriſt before he arrived at the ſhip, of his danger of ſinking, of his being reſcued by Chriſt, and of their entering together into the ſhip, appears by the different relation of St. John to have been delicately ſet aſide. St. Mark likewiſe, though he derived information from St. Peter himſelf, ſays nothing of this tranſaction.—Ch. xix. 39, 40. where St. John relates that Nicodemus and Joſeph embalmed the body of Jeſus on the Friday evening, before it was depoſited in the ſepulchre, does not harmonize with the account of St. Mark, ch. xvi. 1. and of St. Luke, ch. xxiii. 56. xxiv. 1. that the women after Chriſt's interment purchaſed ſpices in order to embalm his body on the Sunday morning. I have attempted indeed in my Hiſtory of the Reſurrection[z] to reconcile the contradiction: but I have not been

[x] See No. 53. in the Table to the four Goſpels.

[y] Ch. xiv. 28—32. [z] P. 99—101.

been able to do it in a manner ſatisfactory either to myſelf, or to any other impartial inquirer into truth. I conſider it therefore as a tacit correction of the account given by the two Evangeliſts, who were not eye-witneſſes, and that St. John intended to ſay, though he has expreſſed himſelf in a more delicate manner, what the following words imply. 'Other hiſtorians had been informed of the embalming of Jeſus, but the account which they have given is not perfectly exact. The women went early on Sunday morning, not to embalm Jeſus, but merely to viſit the ſepulchre: for he had been already embalmed by Joſeph and Nicodemus.'

If it be true that there are paſſages in St. John's Goſpel, which are at variance with the accounts given by the other Evangeliſts, we cannot heſitate to give the preference to St. John, who, of the ſacred hiſtorians, wrote laſt, who was eye-witneſs to almoſt all the facts which he has recorded, who appears to have had an excellent memory, and paid attention to the moſt minute circumſtances. Perhaps ſome perſons will think that this mode of reaſoning is an infringement on the inſpiration, not only of St. Mark and St. Luke, who were not Apoſtles, but even on that of St. Matthew. Let however this matter be as it will, the truth of the Chriſtian religion itſelf will not in the leaſt be affected. The caſe is exactly parallel to the following. An hiſtorian of the preſent age, of whoſe general accuracy and fidelity we have no reaſon to doubt, gives in his narrative the deſcription of an engagement: and an officer, who was preſent in the engagement, reviſes this deſcription, and communicates additions and corrections.

SECT. VIII.

Of the peculiarities of St. John's Greek ſtyle.

ST. JOHN's ſtyle is better and more fluent than that of the other Evangeliſts: and it ſeems as if he had acquired a facility and taſte in the Greek language from his long reſidence at Epheſus. His narrative is very perſpicuous; and in order to promote perſpicuity, the ſame word is ſometimes repeated, though perhaps the advanced age in which St. John wrote, had ſome influence; ſince he is always inclined to repetitions.

He never ſpeaks of himſelf in the firſt perſon, but uſes a periphraſis, ſuch as, 'the diſciple whom Jeſus loved,' or 'the diſciple who leaned on the breaſt of Jeſus.' This again is to be attributed to his long connection with the Greeks, to whom the egotiſm of the firſt perſon was offenſive. To the ſame cauſe muſt be aſcribed likewiſe the variation of his expreſſions, and the uſe of ſynonyms, where he has occaſion in the ſame place to ſpeak more than once of the ſame thing. Thus in ch. xxi. 15, 16, 17. he uſes αγαπαν and φιλειν, βοσκειν and ποιμαινειν, προβατα and αρνια. In ch. viii. 46. αμαρτια is equivalent to ψευδος, and cannot denote 'ſin' in general, as is evident from the context: this word was uſed by St. John to avoid the repetition of ψευδος which occurs in the 44th verſe. In the ſame chapter, ver 51. the thought 'he ſhall never die' is expreſſed by θανατον ου μη θεωρηση εις τον αιωνα· but in the next verſe it is expreſſed in a different manner by ου μη γευσηται θανατου εις τον αιωνα. Some commentators have thought this too artificial, while others have imagined that the expreſſions were not ſynonymous, and have endeavoured to point out a peculiar emphaſis: but in fact they are nothing more than various modes of expreſſing the ſame thing, according to the practice of good Greek writers. With a view to a ſimilar variation

St.

St. John has uſed EIMI, ch. vii. 34. in the ſenſe of *eo*, which in the common printed editions is accented, not εἶμι but εἰμὶ, and thus abſurdly converted into the ſenſe of *ſum*. That St. John by ΟΠΟΥ ΕΙΜΙ ΕΓΩ, ch. vii. 34. intended to ſignify 'Whither I go,' and not 'Where I am,' is evident not only from the context, which requires a verb of motion, becauſe υμεις ου δυνασθε ελθειν immediately follows, but likewiſe from the parallel paſſage, ch. viii. 21. where Chriſt ſays the very ſame thing, only in different words, οπου εγω υπαγω, υμεις ου δυνασθε ελθειν. If it be aſked, why St. John did not uſe the verb υπαγω in ch. vii. 34. as well as in ch. viii. 21. I anſwer, becauſe in the former inſtance he had already uſed υπαγω in the preceding verſe, and for that reaſon he exchanged it for the leſs uſual word ειμι in the ſenſe *eo*.

A peculiarity in St. John's mode of writing is the commencement of a clauſe with the word which had been uſed in the preceding: for inſtance, ch. i. 1. ο λογος, και ο λογος—ην προς τον θεον, και ο θεος. A ſimilar repetition may be ſeen in ver. 3, 4. 7, 8. 10, 11. of the ſame chapter. In ch. xx. 11. is κλαιουσα εξω· ως ουν εκλαιεν: and in ch. xxi. 1—17. are repetitions of the ſame kind. This mode of writing is ſometimes cenſured by grammarians, but as St. John has applied it, the effect is by no means diſagreeable. We meet with another inſtance in his firſt Epiſtle, ch. iii. 1. according to the reading of many good authorities, ινα τεκνα θεου κληθωμεν (και εσμεν). Ver. 2. αγαπητοι, νυν τεκνα θεου εσμεν. Another peculiarity in St. John's ſtyle is the frequent uſe of the pronoun εγω, where there is no emphaſis, and therefore where it was unneceſſary in the Greek language: for inſtance in the above-mentioned example, εγω υπαγω, 'I go,' as in the modern European languages. Whoever turns to Schmid's concordance will find a ſufficient number of examples to prove the truth of this aſſertion. In ſome caſes indeed, as in ch. i. 20. one might ſuppoſe that he meant to lay a par-

a particular ſtreſs on the pronoun ἐγω, but it really occurs too often, to admit this ſuppoſition.

In St. John's Epiſtles we meet with many examples of a ſimilar kind to thoſe, which I have quoted from his Goſpel: but the ſtyle of the latter is better and more perſpicuous, than that of the former. The conjunction και, for inſtance, occurs ſo frequently in his Epiſtles, that it is ſometimes difficult to tranſlate it: but in his Goſpel he has uſed it more ſparingly. Hence it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he wrote his Goſpel much later than his Epiſtles, and after he had improved his Greek ſtyle by his long reſidence in Epheſus. Of the Apocalypſe, which is written in a totally different ſtyle both from the Goſpel and the Epiſtles of St. John, I ſhall treat at large in a ſubſequent chapter.

SECT. IX.

Of the laſt Chapter of St. John's Goſpel.

THE laſt chapter of St. John's Goſpel may be conſidered as a ſupplement, which was added principally with the view of giving the reader ſome account of the author. Some of the early Chriſtians had imbibed the notion, that St. John the Evangeliſt would live till the day of judgement, a notion to which a falſe interpretation of a ſaying of Chriſt, and the great age which the Evangeliſt actually attained, had given riſe[a]. For this reaſon St. John has related at full length, in the laſt chapter, the converſation which took place between Chriſt, St. Peter and himſelf after the reſur-

[a] See Fabricii Cod. Apocryph. Tom. I. p. 533. Not. x.

reſurrection: and has ſhewn in what connection, and in what ſenſe Chriſt ſaid of St. John, 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?'

Grotius, and ſeveral other critics, have contended that the laſt chapter was added, not by St. John himſelf, but by ſome other perſon or perſons, and probably by the elders at Epheſus, after St. John's deceaſe. Their principal argument is founded on ver. 24. 'This is the diſciple which teſtifieth of theſe things, and wrote theſe things: and *we* know that *his* teſtimony is true.' But, as this inference is not ſupported by the teſtimony of the ancients, I do not think it admiſſible. The ſtyle of the whole of the twenty-firſt chapter is exactly the ſame, as that of the reſt of the Goſpel[b]. And as to the 24th verſe in particular, I can ſee no reaſon for ſuppoſing that even that alone is an addition: for the phraſe, 'We know that his teſtimony is true,' is nothing more than a figure of rhetoric, called *Communicatio*, and expreſſes the ſame as, 'Every Chriſtian knows, that his teſtimony is true.' Beſides, if this addition had been made by the Epheſian elders, they would probably have inſerted their names: for the teſtimony of 'We know,' made by unknown perſons, could add no authority to St. John's Goſpel.

[b] See my Hiſtory of the Reſurrection, p. 295, 296.

SECT.

SECT. X.

Of the time when, and the place where, St. John's Goſpel was written.

THAT the latter part of St. John's life was ſpent principally at Epheſus, appears from what is related by Euſebius in the third book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ch. 23. It is likewiſe the generally received opinion that he wrote his Goſpel there: and though, ſtrictly ſpeaking, we can produce no hiſtorical evidence in its favour (for neither the ſubſcription to St. John's Goſpel in the Syriac verſion, nor any other ſubſcription of the ſame kind is entitled to the name of evidence), yet the fact is highly probable in itſelf, ſince it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he wrote where he reſided. And as the Greek language was ſpoken in great purity at Epheſus, and the doctrines which he has combated, prevailed in that city, the opinion that St. John wrote his Goſpel at Epheſus agrees both with its ſtyle and its contents.

That he wrote later than the three other Evangeliſts is alſo the general opinion: and I have endeavoured in a preceding ſection to confirm it by internal arguments. Dr. Semler however contends that St. John wrote before the other three Evangeliſts, and argues in ſupport of this opinion from the three following paſſages, ch. i. 6. vi. 7. 37. But I am wholly unable to diſcover in theſe places any marks whatſoever of an early compoſition: and the reader perhaps on examining them will ſuppoſe, that I have made a miſtake in the quotations. I muſt refer him therefore to Dr. Semler's own notes to theſe paſſages, in his Paraphraſis in Evangelium Johannis.

To the arguments, which I produced in the ſixth ſection of this chapter, to ſhew that St. John wrote later than the other three Evangeliſts, may be added the

the following; which, I think, renders it highly probable that St. John wrote his Goſpel only a ſhort time before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, if not after that event; that is, either ſhortly before, or after the year 70. None of the three firſt Evangeliſts has mentioned the name of the Apoſtle, who cut off the ear of the High Prieſt's ſervant, when Chriſt was betrayed by Judas: but St. John has openly related that this Apoſtle was St. Peter. Now the three firſt Evangeliſts acted with great propriety in not mentioning St. Peter's name, becauſe it would have afforded the Jews an opportunity of accuſing him. Unleſs therefore we ſuppoſe that St. John acted with leſs prudence than the other Evangeliſts, we muſt conclude that St. Peter was dead, when St. John wrote his Goſpel, and therefore that there was no further danger to be apprehended from an open avowal of the fact. Beſides, in ch. xxi. 18, 19. St. John having mentioned the following prophecy of Chriſt reſpecting St. Peter, 'When thou ſhalt be old, thou ſhalt ſtretch forth thy hand, and another ſhall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldeſt not,' explains this prophecy by adding, 'This ſpake he, ſignifying by what death he (namely Peter) ſhould glorify God.' St. Peter therefore muſt have already ſuffered martyrdom, or St. John would not have been able to make the application. Now the death of St. Peter is referred to the year 67: conſequently St. John's Goſpel was written later than that period.

Another argument for the late compoſition of St. John's Goſpel may be derived from the fluency of the language in which it is written. St. John remained in Jeruſalem long after the death of Chriſt, as appears from the Acts of the Apoſtles and the Epiſtle to the Galatians. Nor was he arrived at Epheſus when St. Paul took leave of the elders of that city for the laſt time[e], or his name would not have been paſſed over in ſilence. Further, he was not arrived at Epheſus, when St.

[e] Acts. xx. 17—38.

St. Paul wrote his Epiſtle to the Epheſians, during his impriſonment, or St. John's name would have been mentioned in that Epiſtle. St. John's reſidence in Epheſus therefore cannot have commenced long before the death of St. Peter and St. Paul: and it is not improbable that the hoſtilities, which began about that period between the Jews and the Romans, induced him to leave his native country, agreeably to the command of Chriſt, when he foretold the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. But if St. John arrived ſo late at Epheſus, his Goſpel muſt have been written many years later: for as he was born and educated in Paleſtine, he could not have acquired that fluency of language, which is diſplayed in his Goſpel, except by a long reſidence in a Greek city. According to the preceding ſtatement, St. John muſt have been nearly ſixty years old, when he came to Epheſus: and therefore we muſt admire his ability in forming ſo good a ſtyle at ſo great an age. It is true that his language is not that of a native Greek: yet it is perfectly free from the ſtiffneſs and formality of a ſchool exerciſe.

There is a ſingle paſſage in St. John's Goſpel, from which ſeveral critics have inferred, that it was written before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. In ch. v. 2. St. John ſays, 'There is at Jeruſalem by the ſheep-gate a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches.' Hence it is inferred that Jeruſalem was ſtill ſtanding, when he wrote this paſſage: for if Jeruſalem had lain at that time in ruins, it is argued, that St. John would not have ſaid, 'There *is* at Jeruſalem, &c.' but 'There *was* at Jeruſalem, &c.' And this argument is corroborated by the circumſtance, that though this paſſage has many various readings, the Greek MSS. are unanimous in reſpect to the reading Ἐστι δε, not one having been hitherto diſcovered which reads Ην δε. But this argument appears to me at preſent to be leſs deciſive, than I once thought it. It is founded wholly on the ſingle word εστι; but authors do not always weigh their words with ſo much exact-

neſs, as that ἐστι alone ſhould warrant the inference. Beſides, as the ſubject of diſcourſe was the pool Bethesda, which could not have been deſtroyed in the conflagration of Jeruſalem, St. John, even after the deſtruction of that city, might ſpeak in the preſent tenſe, with equal, and perhaps ſtill greater propriety, than in the paſt. It will be objected perhaps that St. John adds 'having five porches' (πεντε στοας εχουσα), and that if the pool exiſted after Jeruſalem was deſtroyed, ſtill theſe porches could not have remained. Now I grant that πεντε στοας παλαι εχουσα, with the addition of παλαι, would be a more ſuitable expreſſion in a work written after thoſe porches had ceaſed to exiſt: but even the moſt correct writers are ſometimes deficient in preciſion. I am ſtill therefore of opinion that St. John wrote his Goſpel after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, though not in ſo very advanced an age as ſome have ſuppoſed, becauſe the fluency of language then ceaſes. But as his Goſpel abounds with repetitions introduced for the ſake of perſpicuity, and repetitions of this kind are peculiar to men in years, St. John appears, when he wrote his Goſpel, to have arrived at that ſtage of life, which precedes the infirmities of old age.

Lardner, in his Supplement to the Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory, Vol. I. ch. ix. § 7, 8. has ſtated the various opinions both of ancient and modern writers relative to the time when St. John's Goſpel was written; to whom I refer the reader for further information on this ſubject. Lardner's own opinion, which he delivers § 9. is, that it was written about the year 68, and conſequently before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. His firſt argument in favour of this early date is grounded on the occaſion of St. John's writing his Goſpel mentioned by the ancients, namely, the bringing the other three Goſpels to him, and his obſerving their deficiency. Hence Lardner argues, 'Their Goſpels were ſoon brought to him: and if he thought fit to confirm them, or to write any thing by way of ſupplement, he would do it in a ſhort time. The firſt three Goſpels

very probably were written and publiſhed before the end of the year 64, or in 65 at the furtheſt. If they were brought to St. John in 65, or 66, he would not defer more, or much more, than a year, or two, to publiſh the hiſtory of Jeſus, and make the account complete. But this argument reſts on a very unſtable foundation: for I have already ſhewn, that though St. John has completed the accounts of his predeceſſors, his object was, not merely to add a ſupplement to the other three Goſpels, but to confute the tenets of the Gnoſtics and the Sabians. And even if St. John's only motive had been to ſupply the deficiencies of the three firſt Goſpels, ſtill I can ſee no neceſſity for ſuppoſing, that he would therefore have written his Goſpel within a year or two after he had ſeen thoſe of his predeceſſors. Lardner's other arguments have not convinced me more than the preceding: I ſhall therefore not quote them, but requeſt the reader to examine them for himſelf. Yet, though I think not Lardner's arguments ſatisfactory, and the year in which St. John wrote his Goſpel, ſtill appears to me uncertain, yet I will not aſſert that Lardner's concluſion is falſe.

SECT. XI.

Of the Heretics, who rejected St. John's Goſpel.

LAMPE, in his learned Prolegomena to St. John's Goſpel[a], has treated at full length of the heretics who rejected it: though I fear, that he has acquitted ſeveral of this charge, to whom it may be juſtly laid. However, their opinions are of very little importance, eſpecially as moſt of them allowed that St. John was the

[a] Lib. II. cap. 1.

the author, and rejected it on no other ground, than that the Evangeliſt had delivered in it erroneous doctrines. But in this reſpect they were inconſiſtent with themſelves: for to admit, that St. John had the gift of miracles, and that he had received full powers, as an Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, whoſe miracles they likewiſe admitted, and yet to aſſert that St. John delivered erroneous doctrines, is a direct contradiction. The Alogi went a ſtep further, and denied that St. John was the author of the Goſpel aſcribed to him. This aſſertion they grounded, not on external evidence, nor on hiſtorical teſtimony, but merely on the contents of the Goſpel, which, they ſaid, contradicted the three other Goſpels, and therefore could not have been written by a divine Apoſtle. They particularly objected to the term λογος, which no man, they ſaid, would have uſed to denote a perſon, except one who had imbibed the philoſophy, which was adopted by Cerinthus. Hence they argued that the Goſpel, which bore the name of St. John, ought rather to be aſcribed to Cerinthus, than to one of the Apoſtles. But this argument proves nothing: for, whoever undertook to confute the errors of Cerinthus, was under the neceſſity of retaining the terminology of his adverſary.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

SECT. I.

Of the Author of the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the time when this book was written.

AS this book belongs to the hiſtorical writings of the New Teſtament, I treat of it immediately after the Goſpels, agreeably to the order in which it is placed in our common editions of the Greek Teſtament, though in ancient manuſcripts and ancient verſions it is very frequently placed after the Epiſtles of St. Paul, becauſe it is neceſſary to a right underſtanding of them. It appears from the very firſt ſentence in the Acts of the Apoſtles, that it was a continuation of St. Luke's Goſpel, and that it was written by the ſame author. This is likewiſe aſſerted by the moſt ancient eccleſiaſtical writers, whoſe teſtimony I think it unneceſſary to quote, as the queſtion admits of no doubt, and Lardner has already given a ſufficient number of quotations on this ſubject. Whether the interval which elapſed between the compoſition of St. Luke's Goſpel, and his ſecond work the Acts of the Apoſtles, was conſiderable or not, it is at preſent impoſſible to determine. Nor are we able to decide, whether both books were written in the ſame or different places: for though each of them was dedicated to Theophilus, we cannot aſſert that either of them was written in the ſame place, in which Theophilus reſided. That the Acts of the Apoſtles were written at Alexandria is ſtill leſs probable, than that St. Luke's Goſpel was written there: and if it be allowable to ſubſtitute conjecture, where we are forſaken by hiſtorical evidence, I would rather ſuppoſe that the

Acts

Acts were written in Rome, at which place St. Luke mentions his arrival, in company with St. Paul, ſhortly before the cloſe of the book[e]. Further, as it is continued to the end of the ſecond year of St. Paul's impriſonment, it could not have been written before the year 63: nor do I think it probable that it was written after that year, for St. Luke would then have related ſome further particulars relative to St. Paul, or would at leaſt have mentioned the event of his impriſonment, in which the Chriſtian reader was highly intereſted. St. Luke's long attendance on St. Paul, and his having been himſelf eye-witneſs to ſo many of the facts which he has recorded, render him a moſt reſpectable and credible hiſtorian. His medical knowledge enabled him, both to form a proper judgment of the miraculous cures, which were performed by St. Paul, and to give an accurate and authentic detail of them. But he himſelf does not appear to have poſſeſſed the power of healing by ſupernatural means: at leaſt, we have no inſtances of it on record, and when the father of Publius and other ſick perſons (Acts xxviii. 8, 9.) were ſuddenly cured, they were reſtored to health, not by St. Luke, but by the prayers of St. Paul.

SECT. II.

Of the object which St. Luke had in view, in writing the Acts of the Apoſtles.

IT is obvious, that St. Luke did not intend to write a general hiſtory of the Chriſtian church, during the firſt thirty years after Chriſt's aſcenſion: for he has almoſt wholly omitted what paſſed among the Chriſtians in

[e] Acts xxviii. 16.

in Jeruſalem after the converſion of St. Paul, though the other Apoſtles continued for ſome time in Paleſtine. Before St. Luke wrote the Acts, the younger James had been ſtoned to death by the Jews, and the Jewiſh converts to Chriſtianity had ſuffered ſo ſevere a perſecution, that they began to waver in their faith, on which occaſion St. Paul judged it neceſſary to write his Epiſtle to the Hebrews. Theſe were facts, which an hiſtorian, who deſigned to write a general account of the Chriſtian church, could not have paſſed over in ſilence. Further, St. Luke has not deſcribed the propagation of Chriſtianity either in Egypt, or in the countries which bordered on the Euphrates and the Tigris, though at Edeſſa the king himſelf had become an early convert to the Chriſtian religion. Nor has he mentioned St. Paul's journey into Arabia, or the ſtate of Chriſtianity in Babylon, though it appears from the firſt Epiſtle of St. Peter[f], that a Chriſtian community exiſted in that city. Here the queſtion occurs: Were the Chriſtians in theſe countries converts from the Jewiſh religion[g], and was St. Luke's principal attention directed to the converſion of the Gentiles? Or was he ſilent on the propagation of Chriſtianity in the Eaſt, and in Egypt, becauſe he had no knowledge of what was tranſacted there? He is equally ſilent on the foundation of the Chriſtian community in Rome, though it was in a very flouriſhing ſtate before St. Paul's arrival in that city, and had already received an Epiſtle from the Apoſtle. There are other omiſſions in the Acts of the Apoſtles, which we can hardly aſcribe to a want of knowledge in the author: for, as St. Luke was many years the conſtant companion of St. Paul, he was certainly well acquainted with St. Paul's general hiſtory. Yet he has omitted many material tranſactions in the life of the Apoſtle, of which Lardner has ſelected ſeveral remarkable

[f] Ch. v. 13.

[g] This however cannot be ſaid of the king, who reſided at Edeſſa: for he was an Armenian.

able inſtances[h]. In one reſpect however Lardner is miſtaken: for he ſuppoſes that St. Luke accompanied St. Paul to Corinth, whereas, I have ſhewn in a preceding ſection, that St. Luke ſtaid behind at Philippi. But, St. Luke was probably informed by St. Paul of what was done in his abſence: and ſince he has related many things performed by St. Paul before they again joined company, and has even recorded the ſpeech delivered at Athens[i], at which he was no more preſent, than at St. Paul's tranſactions in Corinth, we muſt conclude, that his ſilence did not always proceed from a want of knowledge of the facts, which he has omitted. He has no where alluded to any one of St. Paul's Epiſtles: he has paſſed over ſeveral perſecutions, which the Apoſtle underwent[k]: he has taken no notice of ſeveral voyages made by St. Paul, in which he thrice ſuffered ſhipwreck, long before the ſhipwreck, which happened on the voyage to Italy: nor has he given an account of the great danger, from which the Apoſtle had been delivered by Aquila and Priſcilla, whoſe generous conduct entitled them to the thanks of every Chriſtian community[l]. It is true that theſe facts appear to have taken place during that period which belongs to Acts xvii. 1.—xx. 5, 6. when St. Luke was abſent from St. Paul[m]: yet as we cannot ſuppoſe that they remained totally unknown to him, we may at leaſt deduce this inference, that it was not St. Luke's intention to write a complete narrative of St. Paul's tranſactions. Of his own hiſtory he has ſaid very little: and of what he did at Philippi during the abſence of St. Paul he has ſaid nothing. This ſilence we may aſcribe to his modeſty, which never ſuffered him to appear as a principal perſon. Of the controverſies, which took place relative to the queſtion, whether

[h] Supplement, Vol. I. ch. viii. ſect. 9.

[i] Acts xvii. [k] See 2 Cor. xi.

[l] Rom. xvi. 3, 4. [m] See above, Ch. vi. ſect. 3.

ther the Levitical law ought to be retained, or not, he has mentioned ſome, but not all; for inſtance, he has omitted the controverſy on this ſubject, which created ſo much confuſion among the Galatians. Of the heretical opinions, which diſtracted the Chriſtian church, and to which St. Paul alludes in his Epiſtle, he has given no account. nor has he mentioned even the Gnoſtics, though they were not unknown to St. Paul, when he wrote his firſt Epiſtle to Timothy.

It appears from the preceding paragraph, that St. Luke's object in writing the book, which is called the Acts of the Apoſtles, was to deliver neither a general hiſtory of the propagation of Chriſtianity, nor a complete hiſtory of St. Paul in particular. He ſeems to have had a two-fold object in view, namely:

1. To relate in what manner the gifts of the Holy Spirit were communicated on the day of Pentecoſt, and the ſubſequent miracles performed by the Apoſtles, by which the truth of Chriſtianity was confirmed. An authentic account of this matter was abſolutely neceſſary, becauſe Chriſt had ſo often aſſured his diſciples, that they ſhould receive the Holy Spirit. Unbelievers therefore, whether Jews or Heathens, might have made objections to our religion, if it had not been ſhewn, that Chriſt's declaration was really fulfilled.

2. To deliver ſuch accounts, as proved the claim of the Gentiles to admiſſion into the church of Chriſt, a claim diſputed by the Jews, eſpecially at the time, when St. Luke wrote the Acts of the Apoſtles. And it was this very circumſtance, which excited the hatred of the Jews againſt St. Paul, and occaſioned his impriſonment in Rome, with which St. Luke cloſes his hiſtory. Hence we ſee the reaſon, why he relates, ch. viii. the converſion of the Samaritans, and ch. x. xi. the ſtory of Cornelius, whom St. Peter (to whoſe authority the adverſaries of St. Paul had appealed in favour of circumciſion[n]) baptized, though he was not

of

[n] See Galat. ii. 6—21.

of the circumciſion. Hence alſo St. Luke relates the determination of the firſt council in Jeruſalem relative to the Levitical law: and for the ſame reaſon he is more diffuſe in his account of St. Paul's converſion, and St. Paul's preaching the Goſpel to the Gentiles, than on any other ſubject. It is true that the whole relation, which St. Luke has given, ch. xii. has no connection with the converſion of the Gentiles: but during the period, to which that chapter relates, St. Paul himſelf was preſent at Jeruſalem *, and it is probable for that reaſon, that St. Luke has introduced it.

Before I conclude this ſection, I muſt mention another opinion, which occurs to me, relative to St. Luke's plan in writing the Acts of the Apoſtles. Perhaps his intention was to record only thoſe facts, which he had either ſeen himſelf, or heard from eye-witneſſes. When I conſider his total ſilence in reſpect to the early propagation of Chriſtianity at Edeſſa, I think this opinion not improbable.

SECT. III.

Of St. Luke's ſtyle, and his mode of narration.

THOUGH St. Luke has omitted many material parts of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, in the firſt thirty years after the aſcenſion, yet he is very circumſtantial and perſpicuous in thoſe parts, which he has related. At the ſame time, he has no where exhauſted his ſubject: for wherever he has occaſion to introduce what he had related before, the relation is always accompanied with ſome new circumſtances. Examples of this kind are the converſion of St. Paul, and the baptiſm of Cornelius, which he himſelf relates firſt as an hiſtorian, and afterwards introduces in the ſpeeches of St.

* See Acts xi. 30. xii. 25.

St. Peter and St. Paul. This variation is ſo far from being a blemiſh, that it may rather be conſidered as an ornament: for a repetition of the ſame ſtory, with the very ſame circumſtances, is neither entertaining nor inſtructive. But ſeveral tranſcribers and editors have ſuppoſed, that wherever they obſerved a circumſtance leſs in one place than in the other, there was in that place a real defect, and have accordingly interpolated out of the latter into the former. Thus, in ch. ix. where St. Luke gives his own account of St. Paul's converſion, an interpolation has been made from ch. xxvi. where St. Paul himſelf deſcribes his converſion[p]: and hence the three relations of this fact in the Acts of the Apoſtles reſemble each other in our modern printed editions, much more than in the ancient manuſcripts.

In deſcribing St. Paul's ſhipwreck, he appears to have uſed the Greek technical terms of navigation; ſome of which we find it difficult to underſtand, through want of ſufficient knowledge of this ſubject.

In general St. Luke's ſtyle in the Acts of the Apoſtles is much purer than that of moſt other books of the New Teſtament, eſpecially in the ſpeeches delivered by St. Paul at Athens and before the Roman governors, which contain paſſages ſuperior to any thing even in the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, though the language of this Epiſtle is preferable in other reſpects to that of any other book in the New Teſtament. But the Acts of the Apoſtles are by no means free from Hebraiſms: and even in the pureſt parts, which are the ſpeeches of St. Paul, we ſtill find the language of a native Jew.

It deſerves particularly to be remarked that St. Luke has well ſupported the character of each perſon, whom he has introduced as delivering a public harangue, and has very faithfully and happily preſerved the manner of

[p] See what was ſaid on this example in the ſecond volume of this Introduction, ch. xii. ſect. 3.

of ſpeaking, which was peculiar to each of his orators. The ſpeeches of St. Peter are recorded by St. Luke with the ſame ſimplicity as that in which they were delivered, and they are devoid of all thoſe ornaments, which we uſually find in the orations of the Greeks and Romans[q]. The ſpeeches of St. Paul, which were delivered before a Jewiſh aſſembly, are not very different in their manner from thoſe of St. Peter; and they are wholly diſſimilar to thoſe, which the ſame Apoſtle delivered before an heathen audience, eſpecially in Acts xiii. 16—41. where St. Paul introduces the principal ſubject of his diſcourſe by a long periphraſis, which would have been neither inſtructive nor entertaining in any other place, than a Jewiſh ſynagogue. The ſpeech delivered by the martyr Stephen, in the ſeventh chapter of the Acts is again of a different deſcription. It is a learned diſcourſe, pronounced by a ſpeaker, who was totally unacquainted with the art of oratory. Stephen ſpake without any preparation, and though he had certainly a particular object in view, to which the ſeveral parts of his diſcourſe were directed, yet it is difficult to diſcover this object, becauſe his materials are not regularly diſpoſed. It is true, that he was interrupted, and was prevented from finiſhing his harangue: but an orator, who is accuſtomed to ſpeak in public, and has learnt methodical arrangement, will diſcover even at the commencement of his oration the purport of his diſcourſe. In Stephen's ſpeech we meet with numerous digreſſions, and literary remarks, of which we cannot perceive the tendency. For inſtance, he has a remark, which is at variance with

[q] In the firſt volume of this Introduction, ch. v. ſect. 3. I have obſerved, that St. Luke, in the relation of public ſpeeches, has frequently departed from the words of the Septuagint, where the ſpeaker had quoted paſſages from the Old Teſtament. To the examples, which I there quoted, may be added Acts ii. 17. 19. In theſe inſtances St. Luke has ſhewn his judgement, in not tranſcribing literally from the Septuagint paſſages, which the ſpeaker could have quoted only from memory.

with the Hebrew text, and favours another reading, or if not, it favours a myſtical expoſition of the common reading, that Abraham did not depart from Haran, till after his father's death: and he differs from the Seventy in interpreting קשיטה not by 'lambs,' but by 'a ſilver coin.' The ſame character appears throughout the whole of Stephen's diſcourſe: but a more minute examination of it would be foreign to the preſent purpoſe.

Since then the various ſpeakers, who are introduced in the Acts of the Apoſtles, uniformly preſerve their proper characters, St. Luke muſt have received very accurate information. Yet many of theſe ſpeeches were delivered, not in the Greek language, as they are recorded by St. Luke, but in Chaldee, the language of Paleſtine. Nor is it probable, that any of the perſons, who were preſent at the time, when they were delivered, committed them to writing, if we except the ſpeech of Stephen. My reaſon for thinking it probable that St. Luke had a copy of Stephen's ſpeech, is, that it contains ſome miſtakes of memory, and ſome inaccurate expoſitions, which St. Luke himſelf muſt have known to be ſuch, but which he retained, becauſe he found them in his copy. Perhaps this copy was delivered to him by St. Paul, who was not only preſent at Stephen's ſpeech, but was at that time a zealous adverſary of the Chriſtians; and being at the ſame time learned in the law, was able as well as willing to detect whatever miſtakes might be made by the ſpeaker.

Laſtly, the ſpeeches delivered by St. Paul before aſſemblies, which were accuſtomed to Grecian oratory, are of a totally different deſcription from any of the preceding. It is true, that they are neither adorned with the flowers of rhetoric, nor are even exempt from ſuch expreſſions as betray a native Jew: but the language is pointed and energetic, and the materials are not only well ſelected, but judiciouſly arranged. The ſpeech which St. Paul delivered at Athens, and the two which he held before the Roman governors of Judæa,

are

are proofs of this aſſertion. Yet St. Luke appears to have given only an abſtract, and not the whole of St. Paul's ſpeeches: for the Apoſtle in the defence, which he made before Felix, muſt certainly have ſaid more than is recorded by St. Luke, ch. xxiv. 12, 13. unleſs we ſuppoſe that he merely denied the charge, which had been laid to him, without confuting it. However he has certainly ſhewn great judgement in theſe abſtracts: for, if he has not always retained the very words of St. Paul, he has adopted ſuch as well ſuited the poliſhed audience, before which the Apoſtle ſpake.

SECT. IV.

Chronology of the Acts of the Apoſtles.

IT is evident that St. Luke wrote the Acts of the Apoſtles with a tolerable ſtrict attention to chronological order: but he has not annexed a date to any one of his facts, though in one inſtance he had done it in his Goſpel[f]. Ancient writers in general were leſs attentive to this ſubject, than modern authors: and in ſome caſes perhaps St. Luke did not exactly know in what year the events happened. However there are ſeveral parts of the Acts of the Apoſtles, in which eccleſiaſtical hiſtory is combined with political facts, of which we know the dates: and therefore I will endeavour to determine ſuch as can be ſettled with any preciſion, becauſe an acquaintance with the chronology of the Acts of the Apoſtles will not only contribute to the underſtanding of the book itſelf, but will aſſiſt us in fixing the year, in which many of St. Paul's Epiſtles were written.

I take

[f] Ch. iii. 1, 2.

I take for granted that the Acts of the Apostles
33 commence with the year 33 of the Christian era[s]. In the calculation of this era I follow Usher, and do not enter at present into any minute inquiries on this subject.

1. *The first Epoch*, after the commencement of the book, is at ch. xi. 29, 30.: for what happened between the first Pentecost after Christ's ascension and this period, is without any marks of chrono-
44 logy. But at ch. xi. 29, 30. we have a date: for the famine which took place in the time of Claudius Cæsar, and which induced the disciples at Antioch to send relief to their brethren in Judæa, happened in the fourth year of Claudius's reign, that is, in the year 44 of the Christian era[t].

44 2. *Second Epoch.* Herod Agrippa dies soon after he had put to death the Apostle St. James: and about that time St. Paul and St. Barnabas return from Jerusalem to Antioch. Ch. xii. 21—25. This is still in the year 44.

3. *Third Epoch.* Ch. xviii. 2. Shortly after the banishment of the Jews from Italy by Claudius Cæsar, St. Paul arrives at Corinth. Commentators affix the date 54 to this event: but it is uncertain, for Suetonius, the only historian who has noticed this banishment of the Jews, mentions it without date. For that reason I place no date in the margin.

4. *Fourth*

[s] For the convenience of the reader I place this as well as the following dates in the margin.

[t] I have already observed that I follow Usher, without entering into any minute inquiries in respect to the Christian era. If this is calculated wrong, the following dates must be altered accordingly. Whoever has sufficient ability and leisure for the undertaking would contribute to the explanation of the Acts of the Apostles by calculating these Epochs with still greater precision. But conjecture must be discarded, and facts only admitted as proofs.

4. *Fourth Epoch.* St. Paul comes to Jeruſalem, where he is impriſoned by the Jews, not long after the diſturbances which were excited by the Egyptian. Ch. xxi. 37—39. This impriſonment of St. Paul happened in the year 60, for it was two years before Felix quitted his government of Judæa. Ch. xxiii. 26. xxiv. 27. 60

5. *Fifth Epoch.* Two years after the commencement of St. Paul's impriſonment, Feſtus is appointed governor of Judæa. Ch. xxiv. 27. xxv. 1. 62

From this period the chronology of the Acts of the Apoſtles is clear. St. Paul is ſent priſoner to Rome in the autumn of the ſame year in which Feſtus arrived in Judæa: he ſuffers ſhipwreck, paſſes the winter in Malta, and arrives in Rome in the following year, that is, in 63. Ch. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.

The Acts of the Apoſtles cloſe with the end of the ſecond year of St. Paul's impriſonment in Rome: conſequently, in the year 65. Ch. xxviii. 30.

To the events which happened between the epochs 33 and 34, and between 44 and 60, it is difficult to aſſign any determinate year: and all that we can poſitively ſay of theſe events, is that they happened in thoſe intervals. It is true that chronologers have made the attempt: but none of them has met with ſucceſs, not even the truly eminent Uſher. Unfortunately, the two moſt important years, that of St. Paul's converſion, and that of the firſt council in Jeruſalem, are the moſt difficult to be determined: for neither St. Paul's converſion, nor the council in Jeruſalem, is combined with any political fact, by means of which the date might be diſcovered. Uſher places St. Paul's converſion in the year 35, others in 38: but we cannot poſitively aſſert either the one or the other.

But though we cannot arrive at abſolute certainty we can form in ſome caſes a probable conjecture. For inſtance, St. Stephen hardly ſuffered martyrdom before Pilate was recalled from the government of Judea, for

under Pilate the Jews had not the power of inflicting capital puniſhments, Now, according to Uſher, the year, in which Pilate was recalled, was the 36th of the Chriſtian era. St. Stephen's martyrdom therefore probably happened after 36. If this be true, St. Paul's converſion muſt have happened likewiſe after 36, and therefore 35 is too early a date. But how long after 36, whether in 38, as ſome ſay, I cannot determine. Neither date agrees with the Epiſtle to the Galatians[u].

In what manner the chapters iii. iv. v. vi. are to be arranged between 33 and 36, I cannot determine: for what chronologers have ſaid is here conjecture, and not calculation. The ſame uncertainty prevails in reſpect to ch. viii. and x.: for we can affirm nothing more, than that the one muſt placed before, the other after 36. We are likewiſe in the dark with reſpect to ch. xiii. xiv. and ſeveral other chapters. Of ch. xvi. we may aſſert, that it belongs to a period at leaſt ſix years prior to the fourth epoch or the year 60: for a year and an half at Corinth, three years at Epheſus, and the time ſpent on ſeveral journies, can hardly be preſſed into a ſmaller compaſs, than that of ſix years. To ch. xvi. therefore the lateſt date, which can be aſſigned, is 54: and it is not impoſſible that a ſtill earlier date ſhould be aſſigned to it.

Wherever I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak, in the following chapters of this Introduction, of the dates to be annexed to St. Paul's Epiſtles, I muſt beg to be underſtood as delivering not my own opinion, except where I explain myſelf more fully, but the opinion of others. The moſt proper dates for St. Paul's Epiſtles are references to the reſpective parts of the Acts of the Apoſtles.

[u] See Ch. XI, ſect. 1.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

THE STUDY OF JOSEPHUS RECOMMENDED AS THE BEST MEANS OF UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BEFORE I conclude my account of the historical books of the New Testament, I must particularly recommend a diligent study of the works of Josephus, from the beginning of Herod's reign to the end of the Jewish Antiquities. Ottius and Krebs, men of real learning, have set a very laudable example, in selecting passages from Josephus, with a view of illustrating the New Testament: yet, what is very extraordinary, this author is in general neglected, though he really furnishes the very best commentary on the Gospels and the Acts. I will select only one example in proof of this assertion; but this example is of great importance, because not only a perplexed passage in the New Testament will be explained, but a difficulty relative to a point of morality will be removed.

In the third chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, where the baptism of John is described, the Evangelist says, ver. 14. Επηρωτων δε αυτον οι στρατευομενοι, λεγοντες· και ημεις τι ποιησωμεν; to which question John the Baptist answered, Μηδενα διασεισητε, μηδε συκοφαντησητε· και αρκεισθε τοις οψωνιοις υμων. In this passage, the word στρατευομενοι is usually rendered 'soldiers,' as if there were no difference between the participle στρατευομενοι and the noun στρατιωται. Grotius supposes that St. Luke meant soldiers, who spent the greatest part of their lives in garrison, and did not take the field, except on the greatest emergencies. But στρατευομενοι evidently denotes 'soldiers actually on service,' or 'soldiers actually engaged in war.' Now it appears from the relation of Josephus (Antiq. xviii. 5.) that Herod the tetrarch of Galilee was engaged in a war with his father-in-law Aretas, a petty king in Arabia Petræa, at the very time, in which

John was preaching in the wilderneſs. Machærus, a fortreſs ſituated on a hill, not far from the eaſtern ſhore of the Dead ſea, on the confines of the two countries, was the place, in which John was impriſoned, and afterwards beheaded. The army of Herod, then on its march from Galilee, paſſed through the country, in which John baptized: and hence we diſcover that theſe στρατευομενοι were ſoldiers of Herod the tetrarch, who were marching to battle againſt Aretas. Further it is highly probable, that they were not native Jews, but foreigners taken into Herod's pay. As early as the time of John Hyrcanus, the Jews had foreigners in their ſervice[w], who gradually increaſed to ſuch a degree as to ſuperſede the natives of the country. At leaſt, if we may judge from the account given by Joſephus, of the funeral proceſſion of Herod the Great, the army of this Jewiſh ſovereign conſiſted wholly of foreigners. For at the funeral of Herod the Great, according to Joſephus[x], the whole army was drawn up in military parade, and conſiſted, 1st of the life-guard[y], 2dly of Thracians, 3dly of Germans, 4thly of Galatians. If we may argue from Herod the Great to his ſon Herod Antipas, the army of the latter conſiſted likewiſe of foreigners.

So far in regard to the queſtion, who theſe στρατευομενοι were. With reſpect to John's anſwer it muſt be obſerved, that though Herod Antipas was engaged in an unjuſt war, the Baptiſt who had ſufficient courage to reprove Herod himſelf, did not ſay to the ſoldiers that it was *their* duty to examine the juſtice of a war, before they marched to battle, but cautioned them only in general terms againſt rapine and violence, adding that they ſhould be content with their wages.

Many

[w] Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. XIII. cap. 8. ſect. 4. cap. 13. ſect. 5. cap. 16. ſect. 2.

[x] Antiq. XVII. 8. 3.

[y] The life-guard certainly conſiſted of foreigners: for Herod the Great would not have intruſted the protection of his perſon to troops of Jewiſh origin.

Many other examples might be produced, of a ſimilar deſcription with the preceding, and for that reaſon every man who would underſtand the Goſpels and the Acts, ſhould ſtudy the works of Joſephus, eſpecially thoſe books, which I have mentioned above. I am perſuaded, that if they were made the ſubject of public lectures in our univerſities, the theological ſtudent would reap much greater benefit, than from all the lectures on polemical divinity, of which the greateſt part of the clergy can make little or no uſe. It were likewiſe to be wiſhed, that ſome one, who has abilities for the undertaking, would make a good and fluent tranſlation of them, for the benefit of thoſe, who are unable to read the original, and accompany the tranſlation with ſuch notes, as are neceſſary to make it intelligible to the unlearned.

END OF VOL. III. PART I.

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